

DE BOW'S REVIEW.

ESTABLISHED JANUARY, 1846.

JULY, 1861.

VOL. XXXI, O. S.]

ENLARGED SERIES.

[VOL. VI, No. 1, N. S.

ART. I.—THE TIMES AND THE WAR.

EVERY-DAY events have become so interesting and absorbing that it is useless to attempt to write about anything else than those events; for one writes with great pain to himself, and with little interest or edification to the reader, on one subject whilst he is thinking about another.

We removed to Richmond the day before the meeting of the Virginia Convention, and have been carefully observing the progress of events and the changes of opinion. Nor have we been an idle spectator; for all the while we have been industriously engaged in trying to encourage the bold and hopeful, in lashing forward the timid and desponding, and in denouncing and ostracising the venal and treacherous few. We never doubted the issue of events, and foresaw, from the first, that the rupture with the Federal Government could be delayed but a few weeks after the inauguration of the new administration—for if Lincoln did not very soon attempt to coerce the seceded States he would be deserted and denounced by the North; and if he made that attempt, the Border States were pledged to fly to the rescue.

The majority of the Convention were not true to the South, but were ready to barter away the honor, the dignity, the liberty and independence of Virginia, in order to obtain a little temporary ease, or a disgraceful truce with abolition, instead of an honorable peace.

The Report of the Committee of twenty-one, as adopted by the Convention, proposes that negro slavery shall be excluded from all territory north of 36.30. This is a distinct admission that slavery is wrongful; an abolition

amendment to the Constitution emanating from Virginia; a reversal of the Dred Scott decision, and a retreat from the issue tendered by the Baltimore Convention that nominated Breckinridge. It should have been enough to satisfy the most rabid abolitionists, and would have satisfied them had it not been coupled with the condition that the Government should not attempt to coerce the seceded States. At bottom, the quarrel between North and South is, shall the North support itself, or, by means of Government action and machinery, be supported by the South? It is the old quarrel of Nullification continued under a new name. The North draws its support from the Cotton States, not from the Border Slave States, and to permit them to secede was to give up everything really at issue between North and South.

The Virginia Convention tendered them what was, by necessary inference and implication, a full admission of the principle of abolition—and they, like sensible men who were fighting for spoils and plunder, indignantly rejected it. Yankees really care not a cent for philosophical abstractions, but live on pecuniary abstractions. They asked for bread and the Convention tendered them a stone.

The majority of the Convention was headed and led on by lawyers past middle age—men of routine who had grown prematurely old—men whose brains were ossified and whose thoughts were stereotyped—unimpressionable men—old fogies—men of a past age—men like the weird women in Macbeth, who were “on this earth but yet not of it”—but they were not bad men nor traitors; and were gradually taught, by the women and children who attended the Convention, that there really was a revolution going on in which they must take part, and cease discussing abstractions. We make the assertion, after careful study and observation, that there could not be found, in eastern or south-western Virginia, an indiscriminate crowd of men, women and children who did not comprehend the character of the times, and the public action required by the times, better than this Convention, until it was waked up by the cannon at Fort Sumter and its reverberated echo, the proclamation of Lincoln.

We deem it a happy circumstance that the officers of our army will be generally composed of young men, who will not be martinets, adopting on all occasions the tactics of the schools, but ready on proper opportunities to pursue that desultory partisan method of warfare before which

invading armies gradually melt away. General Lee is a practical and scientific soldier, and his services are absolutely needed to direct the general course of defence or invasion, and to devise plans for the many fortifications we shall need. The officers under him, who have retired from the federal service and enlisted in that of Virginia, are fully equal to any in the country. We shall need them all, especially in the defence of our towns and sea-coast and in invasive warfare; for militia and militia officers are wholly unfitted for a regular campaign in an enemy's country.

Should, however, the war be a long one, and the enemy succeed in getting far into the interior of the South, our chief reliance must be on irregular troops and partisan warfare. Such troops will cut off supplies from the invaders, embarrass their movements, harass them on their march, disconnect them from their base of operations, and kill them in detail. Thus did the Cossacks of Russia conquer Napoleon, who had already vanquished all the regulars of Europe. They would not fight him "*secundum artem*," and he was too old to learn any new mode of fighting. When young, he whipped the Austrians by the same arts that enabled the Cossacks to conquer him—he violated the established tactics of the school, and introduced a new art of war of his own.

He once said in a conversation that no nation, thoroughly attached to its institutions and its Government, could be conquered. It is irregular partisan warfare that renders such nations invincible. It is this sort of warfare that renders Circassia able to resist the whole force of Russia, that defeated Braddock, that enabled us to conquer and capture Burgoyne and Cornwallis, and to kill Pakenham and defeat his army. This kind of warfare enabled La Vendee, for many years, to beat the best armies of France; maintained until within a century the independence of the Scotch Highlands, and rendered Wales invincible. Switzerland, too, owes her liberty partly to her locality and partly to the readiness, courage and skill with which her people adopt and practice irregular partisan warfare. We have no regular soldiers, and comparatively few trained, experienced, scientific officers. In case of invasion, our chief reliance must be upon militia and militia officers. No country has such fine material out of which to form numerous corps of militia, for we are all accustomed to out-of-door active life, and to the use of the horse and the gun. Self-reliance and personal courage are prominent traits of Southern character, and the very qualities most essential in militia.

The Yankees have little self-reliance or personal courage, are submissive and easily drilled, and may make better common regular soldiers; but they have few men qualified to make officers. Benedict Arnold was the best officer the North has produced. Their talent is for naval warfare, and at sea no men command more skilfully or fight more bravely. The fewness of our towns and villages, the sparseness of our population, our mountain ranges and bad roads, are all elements of strength, all obstacles to an invading army, and all advantages in carrying on irregular defensive warfare.

The North and North-west possess not one of our advantages in case of offensive warfare. The border country is generally level, the roads good, the population dense, but unused to guns, and unpracticed in horsemanship; the means of subsisting an invading army abundant and near at hand, towns and villages at every five miles, and spoils and plunder abundant. No country is more valuable than she, or less vulnerable than we. If she invade us, we must invade her. Then we shall have to rely almost solely on our experienced and scientific officers, and on the soldiers trained by them. Militia are of little use in invasive warfare, but invaluable in defensive war. We may be charged with paradox, and no doubt are about to horrify our distinguished experienced officers, late of the federal army, when we say that for defensive war, militia, in some localities and under some circumstances, are superior to regulars. If they dispute our position, we propose to prove it by the instance of the Seminoles in Florida, who held out for twenty years against the whole federal army. Now, we ask them, was there an officer in the army turned out with double the number of regulars in the swamps of Florida, who could have sustained himself half as long as the Seminoles? Ah! but they were savages, accustomed to live in the swamps, and acquainted with all their hiding-places. Well! let the Yankees invade our mountain region and burn a few houses, and we predict that our mountain boys will become as savage as the Seminoles and twice as brave. Or, let them invade the miasmatic coast of the Atlantic, and they will find our militia equally savage; and the mosquitoes, and ague and fever more savage than our soldiers.

Our militia are our chief element of strength, our almost sole element of defence. It is time to ascertain from the history and experience of other countries, as well as of our own, how far they may be relied on.

That magic word, Secession, transferred thousands of millions of wealth from the North to the South. The North is bankrupt. Her people must migrate to the West or starve. The census of 1850 will prove beyond the possibility of doubt or cavil, that the States of New York and Pennsylvania, and the New England States, do not produce annually enough meat and bread to feed their population for six months in the year, and (except a little wool) produce nothing with which to clothe them. Their soil is extremely sterile, and it would require many years manuring to make it capable of supporting the present population. They cannot produce their own food and clothing, and will have nothing wherewith to purchase it. The cotton and tobacco crop of the South, for a single year, would sell for four times as much as all the specie currency in the States we have mentioned. They will require every cent of this specie for home use, at least during the war. Their manufactures will only sell in the North-west, and there they can sell but a few of the cheapest and coarsest kind—not one-fourth enough to supply the deficiency of food and clothing. Their coarse cottons were the only article which they could sell in the markets of the world before secession. Now the raw cotton will cost them so much that they will no longer be able to sell cotton fabrics abroad. Their local wealth, derived from houses, factories, cities, railroads, etc., ceased to exist the instant secession became an accomplished fact. Their mercantile marine is the only thing they can sell in foreign markets, and as they will have no further use for it at home they should sell it as speedily as possible. The South will need it all, and would buy it, to carry on that very trade which secession has transferred to her from the North.

*It is only the careful and thoughtful student of history who can believe or understand how suddenly and how thoroughly changes in the course of trade transfer wealth from one nation or locality to another. Centralization of trade built up every city now lying in ruins in Europe, Asia and Africa, and diversion of trade laid them low. Many of them were ruins long before the historic pen began to record the fate of empire and the deeds of man; yet their broken columns, their crumbling temples, deserted halls and silent streets, tell with mute eloquence the sad tale of their rise and of their fall in strains more sublime and pathetic than historic pen can emulate.

Descending from the twilight annals of architectural tra-

dition to the earliest ages of written history, we find that each city around or near the Mediterranean (which was the whole ancient world) rose or fell as it enjoyed or lost the monopoly of trade. Athens, Tyre, Sidon, Egyptian Thebes, Carthage, and many other cities, might be cited as instances. Trade was diverted from most ancient cities by the hands of foreign conquerors. It was reserved for our foolish cities of the North to divert it by their own act.

So soon as the Crusader reopened European intercourse and trade with the East, city after city lying in the course of this trade sprung up into little empires, whose art, wealth and refinement shone like stars in the midst of mediæval darkness, and gradually transmitted their lustre from nation to nation, till a new civilization burst out upon the world.

The first fruit of this new civilization was a diversion of the old course of trade, and the establishment of a new one. The cities of Italy became victims to that civilization which they inaugurated, and Columbus, a native of one of those cities, in discovering the New World, well nigh destroyed the fairest portion of the Old World. Oceanic trade now supplanted Mediterranean trade, and the wealth of the East ceased to be brought by caravans to the Levant, and began to wend its way around the Cape of Good Hope.

Spain, Portugal and Holland successively enjoyed this trade, and were made by it rich, enlightened and powerful. Last of all, England, from her advantages of situation, began to engage in oceanic trade. Her first act was to brush Holland out of her way—to do for her what Van Tromp had boastfully threatened to do to England. Thrown into the course of trade, and almost monopolizing it, England has become the wealthiest and among the most powerful nations of the earth.

Steam is about to restore trade to its old and classic course—up the Mediterranean, and thence overland to India and China. Men are now impatient of delay, and must have a speedy travel, speedy intercommunication, and quick returns in trade.

The Mediterranean peoples—the best, the bravest, the most talented of the human race—are getting ready and preparing for that great revolution in human affairs which is to take the lead of civilization out of the hands of stupid Teutons, whether English or Germans, and transfer it to its rightful leaders—the Latin, Greek and Celtic races—along the Mediterranean.

Spain is arousing from her lethargy, and preparing to take part in the great drama of human action that, by means of steam and the telegraph, is about to transfer trade from its tedious oceanic routes, and to belt the earth, where the earth is fairest and most fertile, with railroads and canals. Greece is best situated of all countries for overland Asiatic trade, and she is rapidly improving in civilization, and evincing great aptitude for trade. Italy, as if by magic, is resuming her position among nations, and showing to the world that she unites the courage of the Roman with the taste, artistic skill and genius of the Italian. Austria—stupid, phlegmatic, torpid Austria—will learn, after awhile, that if she will but unite with France in establishing railroad routes to India and China, she will become one of the greatest maritime powers in the world, and that her Venice will again be the mistress of the Adriatic, and one of the great centres of Asiatic trade. France not only sees that it is time for this great revolution in trade to come about, but, under the lead of her far-seeing emperor, is doing every thing she can to hasten its arrival.

The wealth and the commerce of England are about to be seriously impaired, because she is fast losing her monopoly of trade. It is well that we are cultivating kind relations with France as well as with England; for, ere long, our trade and intercourse will be quite as great with France and other Mediterranean nations as with England. The Mediterranean nations are a very superior people to the more Northern nations, not only in taste, in art and in literature, but peculiarly so in the manufacture and fabrication of articles of utility, where beauty is sought to be combined with utility. The English are devoid of taste; but, like the Yankees, have considerable constructive and mechanical ingenuity. They can manufacture more in the same time and with the same labor than any people in Europe, but they always manufacture worse than any other people.

Falstaff, who (except Solomon and Sancho Panza) was the wisest man that ever lived, or at least the man who said most good things, speaks of the "canker of a bad world and a long peace." Now, a long peace always begets a bad world. In time of peace men have little else to do but to try to make money by getting the better of each other. Nobody with common sense, in such times, is satisfied to follow the injunction of the golden rule and "Do unto others as he would have them do unto him." On the contrary, every man struggles to do as little for other people as

possible, and to make other people do as much for him as possible. To bear equal burdens ourselves with those we impose on others is, in time of peace, considered not only silly, but absolutely disreputable. What would be thought of the lawyer who were to tell his needle-woman, "You worked all day to make my shirt, and it is but fair and honest that my fee for a day's service at the bar shall not exceed your charge for making my shirt." No, the lawyer charges the needle-woman at the rate of one day's work of his own for a hundred days' work of her's, and is most respected and considered most meritorious, just in proportion as he imposes most burdens on others, and bears, in return, least for them. This is the game of peace, this the social war which peace inaugurates and war suspends; he who is most selfish, most successful in getting the better of his fellow men in the exchanges of labor, who most violates Christian morality as expressed in the golden rule, is the best, greatest, most meritorious man. In fine, in time of peace we become "cannibals all;" in time of war, we learn to "love our neighbor as ourselves," and to live as much for others as for self. Occasional war is needed to purify the moral atmosphere, to banish the intense selfishness which a long peace begets, and to teach men to love one another.

The friendships which are now forming in our armies by daily exposures to common dangers and common privations, and by that close and cordial intercourse which the soldier's life begets, will not only last through the present generation, but be transmitted from sire to son, and the children and the grandchildren of fellow-soldiers will love one another, and often, in adversity, relieve and aid one another. Not only will this war knit society more closely together for the present, but it will cement it in bonds of friendship and affection for half a century to come. "To love one's neighbor as one's self" is the sum and essence of human morality. War tends to make men perform this duty; peace estranges men from each other.

War has its pleasures not only in its action but in its reminiscence. Men like to "shoulder their crutch and fight their battles o'er again." Old soldiers live upon the memory of joys that are past, and men and women and boys hang upon their lips, and are quite as happy in listening as the old soldier in telling of his hair-breadth 'scapes. Women love war and danger in the recital more than man; and black as Othello was, few women in the world

could have resisted his manner of wooing. It is a universal fact, that in all times and in all countries the greatest man in war has, by common consent, been esteemed the greatest and most meritorious of men. "Saul slew his thousands, and David his tens of thousands,"—and David was, therefore, considered the greater and better man. We bow in submission to the universal opinion of mankind and the authority of the Bible, and whilst we cannot understand or account for it, are ready humbly to concede that the greatest warrior is the greatest of mankind.

The love of war is the strongest and most universal of human passions; and, strange to say, much stronger with women and children than with men. We suppose it is because they are more natural and impressionable, and have their feelings less under control. Certain it is, that for the last two months here in Richmond the women and children have exhibited far more enthusiasm whilst listening to secession speeches, and more indignation whilst hearing submissionist speeches, than the men; and they have taken more interest in the daily military evolutions of the troops, and been more joyous and exultant at the arrival of soldiers from other States, at each new step in the progress of revolution, and at the capture of Fort Sumter and other federal strongholds.

Everybody in the city, except the little band of submissionists, has been almost in an ecstasy of joy for the last two months, and this joy occasioned by the prospect of war—for nothing but war, or the expectation of war, could so stir, rouse and elate the spirits of men. The evils attendant on war are obvious, and have been the hackneyed theme of authors in all countries and all ages. But wars will come; and we should try to deduce as many gleams of happiness, and as much of consolation and of future advantage from them as possible. Life were worth nothing without its contrasts, its vicissitudes, its alternations of sorrow and of joy. He who never felt pain has never felt pleasure. Nay, exemption from pain and disquietude, and the attainment of every wish of the heart, is the most painful and intolerable of all conditions—always begets ennui and *tedium vitæ*, and frequently ends in melancholy madness. This state of satiety, of gloom and restlessness of mind, is beautifully, pathetically and philosophically depicted by Solomon in the book of Ecclesiastes. It is the struggle of life, its ups and downs, the meeting and surmounting of difficulties, the safely weathering the storms

of adversity, and the reminiscence of the "*varios casus et multa discrimina versum*" through which we have passed, that constitute the staple of human happiness and render life intolerable. A life of total inaction is a life of corroding care and constant misery. The contrasts and vicissitudes of events in war are stronger and more striking than those of peace, and if its pains be more severe its joys are more exquisite. The triumphs of war occasion the purest and most exalted enjoyment; the triumphs of peace, we have already shown, often render life a burthen—"a vanity of vanities."

Foreign war begets social and domestic peace. Men are drawn nearer to one another; the ordinary social distinctions are suspended and forgotten; easy, but dignified, familiarity takes the place of haughty reserve and fashionable pretension. Little aims are for the time forgotten, selfish dealings and doings suspended, and men's minds become occupied with great thoughts, and their hearts filled with generous, noble and elevating sentiments. There is brought about a truce or suspension in that fierce war of competition which, in time of peace, arms each man against his fellow man, and begets rivalries, jealousies, heartburnings, estrangements and enmities. Everyone sees and feels that men love one another ten times as much now as they did six months ago. Men have ceased to live for self, and begin to live for their neighbors and their fellow countrymen. Almost all of human happiness is sympathetic and reflective; and it goes very far to compensate for the evils of war that men now love one another, and try to promote each other's happiness, who, in times of peace were struggling to get the better of each other. Charity and benevolence have taken the place of rivalry, jealousy and selfish greed.

In the South, especially, war is a leveller; but it levels upward. All men who are not mere mercenaries, but engaged in war in defence of their country, have more noble and more generous aims and views than in times of peace. The experience gained even in a short campaign, and the punctual and systematic habits acquired will be of equal worth to learned and unlearned, but especially to the young, whose characters are yet plastic.

As a gymnasium, the army is the best of all schools. It renders the body hardier, more active and erect, improves the health, confirms the constitution, gives grace and dignity to the carriage of the person, and a chivalric and elegant tone to the manners.

A great fund of useful knowledge will be acquired by familiar association of the soldiers with one another, for in every company there are many highly educated men, and most of them are well-informed, practical men, of every trade and profession, and from every section of the South. Men can study books at home, but the army is the place to study men, and to acquire a great deal of practical knowledge and local information which cannot be learned from books.

For more than a month large numbers of troops from every section of the South have been walking and lounging about our streets or in our hotels, when off duty, and we have yet to hear of the first piece of rudeness or misconduct of any kind perpetrated by any of them. We every day enter into familiar conversation with the soldiers, where and whenever we meet with them, and have never met one who was not polite and well informed. It is no extravagance to say, that no army, so high toned and so well informed, has mustered to the field since all Greece flew to arms to drive the invading Xerxes from her soil.

* It is a touching and a beautiful sight to see the happy and faithful negroes who, in various capacities, follow the camp.

“Master! go on, and I will follow thee
To the last gasp, with truth and loyalty!”

is now the sentiment which fills the bosoms of our slaves; and give them the opportunity and they would act out the sentiment as bravely and successfully as did the Helots at Platea. Yes! they would fight side by side with us to expel the filthy foreigners and roguish Yankees who come *avowedly* to steal our lands, and to drive both master and slave from the fair fields of the South.

For the first month after our arrival in this city, speeches were made every night to the people. For the last month no such speeches have been made. Then, all was preparation; now, all is stern resolve and action. Troops are pouring in in much larger numbers than will be needed; but it is all well, for we shall need a Home Guard, and a short drilling will be of benefit to all. We can gradually select our best men for regular service; for all are ready and eager to serve. Death has lost all its terrors to the people of the South, since the base proletariat and nomadic paupers of the North have threatened us with servile insurrection, and are attempting to carry their threat into execution. There is but one mind, one feeling, one intention now among us,

and that is to drive the invader from our soil; and if he be not driven away quickly, to march into the North and devastate its towns with fire and sword; and to sweep, by privateering, its commercial marine from the seas. The army of the North is as remarkable for its base material as ours for its high morality. Respectable men do not volunteer to go a-roguing, and the attack on the South is avowedly a rogue's expedition. The Northern troops are, with very few exceptions, paupers, thieves, ignorant foreigners, murderers, bullies, and criminals of every description. They are not half so respectable or well informed as our negroes; and it adds much to the indignation and exasperation of our troops that they have to meet these nomadic scoundrels.

The South will have foreign aid, and that speedily—for neither France or England will regard the paper blockade of the vile, vulgar and criminal crew that now desecrate Washington. But the South needs not foreign aid, and, thank heaven! has already shown to the world her confidence in her ability to defend herself. We have but one fear, and that is that peace may be concluded ere a good hearty hatred of the North is gotten up. Secession, disunion, will avail us nothing if we continue to have intercourse with the North and to trade with her. If, after our Southern Confederacy is perfected, we are to trade with the North, visit the North, send our children to school at the North, read Northern books and periodicals, and admit Northern teachers and parsons and merchants among us—in fine, if amicable relations are to be restored between the sections, we should greatly prefer the old Union to the new Confederacy. Disunion, unless it result in non-intercourse, will be an empty and a useless form. If we trade with the North we shall continue to be tributaries to the North. We shall have no thought of our own, no opinion of our own, no character of our own, no wealth of our own—but be mere dependents and imitators of the vile Yankee. We fear not war, but we do fear peace. There is danger, great danger, that in making peace with the North we shall restore the old Union in all save the name. We are sure to be cheated by them, and we care not how much we are cheated, provided we be not cheated into making friends with them. All intercourse with them debauches our morals, and robs us of our money, our character and our intellect. Until we are thoroughly convinced that association with them is equally unprofitable and disreputable let

us have no peace! Let it not be feared that, in becoming independent of the North, we shall become equally dependent on Europe. The great distance that separates us will prevent this. There can be little intercourse across the Atlantic, and Europeans will not understand our wants and, therefore, will not be able to supply them. Besides, the war will teach us how to provide for our own wants and to live within ourselves. Its privations, occasioned, in some measure, by our habitual dependence on the North, will teach us the salutary lesson not to be dependent hereafter for the necessities and comforts of life, or for arms with which to defend ourselves, on any foreign nation.

Civilization consists in the successful practice of the mechanic arts—and that nation is most civilized which is most proficient in those arts. The fine arts hardly constitute a part of civilization. There is more of poetry and of eloquence in Homer and the Old Testament than in any other works, and yet they were written among men just emerging from barbarism. Painting and sculpture attained their highest perfection in the early days of Greece, when men were but half civilized, for they knew few useful arts or mechanical processes. It has been said that modern civilization is utilitarian. So it is; but it is equally true, that all civilization is utilitarian. A man may be a great poet, a wise philosopher, an eloquent orator, or a fine painter or musician, and yet not know how to read or how to practice one single useful art—in fine, be a savage. A knowledge of the fine arts is not inconsistent with the savage state; whilst the knowledge and practice of the mechanic arts constitutes civilization of itself. When the knowledge of the two is blended, civilization assumes its highest type. The practice of the mechanic arts will keep our wealth at home, give us fixed capital and elevate our civilization. War, that promotes these ends, is little to be regretted.

ART. II.—THE CONSTITUTION OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES.

WE have separated from the States of the Union because we had not guarantees for our rights and liberties; and now the question is, have we secured them? I have, for years past, desired a separation, not simply because I loved the Union less, but liberty more. I, however, never looked upon a separation merely as a guarantee for our rights and liberties. It will relieve us from the control of the North-

ern States in the administration of our Government; and, as their controlling power and influence would have deprived us of our rights and liberties, all who are not prepared to become slaves must sanction the act of separation. But the Government from which we separated we cannot doubt was honestly and patriotically established to preserve our rights and liberties. It failed to provide sufficient guarantees, and upon that ground alone can our separation be justified by the honest and patriotic of to-day and by an impartial posterity hereafter. In what, then, did this failure consist? What was the true cause of the necessity for our separation? If we can trace out the true cause of this necessity, we can readily determine whether in the new or Confederate States Constitution we have new guarantees for our rights and liberties. Let us endeavor, then, in the sober light of reason and truth to look upon the extraordinary spectacle we are presenting to the world. When a Government fails to protect our rights and liberties, it must be because it is too weak to defend them or too strong to be resisted when these are assailed. We separated because the Government had become too powerful for us to resist with the means it had provided us for resistance to its usurpations. How was this power acquired? How were these usurpations consummated? A plain statement of facts will show. The Government had the power of collecting duties for revenue for the purpose of defraying the necessary and legitimate expenses of the Government. If capitalists could obtain a tariff of duties on articles they desired to manufacture, the price of such goods would be enhanced to the value of the duty levied by the Government.

In order to secure such enhancement of value, they claimed it was the duty of the Government, in this way, to protect their manufacturing establishments. The effect of this policy was to increase the revenues beyond the necessary expenditures of the Government, for the greater the revenue the greater the protection. To give strength to the measure, they claimed protection for the mining and navigation interests, and to increase still further their profits, they claimed the power of the Government to carry out a system of internal improvements. These would all increase the revenue, and, of course, the profits of the protective policy. This led to extravagance and corruption in the administration of the Government, which was sanctioned because such expenditures increased the revenue—an increase of the revenue was an increase of protection.

They claimed for the Government powers it never possessed, and why was not such usurpation of power resisted? Our Government was established upon the idea that the division of power between those delegated to the Union Government and those reserved to the States, would prevent such usurpation: that, if the Union Government usurped power, it must be an encroachment on the powers reserved to the States, as all power not delegated was to them reserved, which it would be the duty and interest of each State to resist, and which, by such combined effort, they certainly could. Such was the theory. But what cared New England for States Rights, when, for a surrender of them she received a compensation in the way of protection to her manufactures, bounties for her fishing, and exclusive privileges for her navigation interests? Pennsylvania, when she received protection for her coal and iron interests; and the North-west States, when, by such surrender, they had their rivers and harbors improved and railroads built at the expense of others. *THUS THE equilibrium of our system was destroyed.* Nor was this all. The high tariff men appealed to the masses of the North with the argument that their labor deserved, and it was the duty of the Government to afford it protection against the pauper labor of Europe, and thus enhance their wages. They sustained the capitalist in his demands, but the capitalist pocketed the profits for the enhanced price of his goods, while he refused to advance the laborers wages. He paid only the price absolutely necessary to command labor, and in a little while the pauper labor of Europe, against which the capitalist pretended to discriminate, was transferred to their own shores, and emigration by him encouraged, to prevent the higher wages which he promised. Thus, his policy was to rob the agricultural interests of the South and to swindle labor in the North. This did not, and could not, fail to engender hostility between capital and labor. To that sentiment, when the torch is applied, a conflict follows which inaugurates revolution and governments topple. To avoid the threatened conflict at home, hostility was engendered against the institutions of the South, and they of the North were taught to believe there was no conflict between capital and labor, but between *free* labor and *slave* labor. It was easy to give this change to the course of events, because the North and South had been antagonistic forces for and against the protective policy. It was natural, too, because the highest authority informs us, how-

ever paradoxical it may seem, it is natural to hate those we have injured. They robbed us, and we resisted and denounced the robbery, and for this they hated us; had we not resisted we should have shown ourselves devoid of self-respect and fit to be slaves, and their feeling toward us would have been contempt instead of hate. And hence resulted the *anti-slavery agitation*, resulting already in the destruction of the Government of Washington, threatening those who have been the architects of its destruction a like fate, first, to be followed by a state of anarchy, and then to be consummated by a military despotism. Can the South save herself? So that from an abuse of the *taxing* power, the North, not from *choice* merely, I would say, but from *necessity* also, was forced into the war of the ballot box, which, for its bitterness, is unparalleled in history; and which, if we have not the courage and patriotism to defend our homes and firesides now that it has become the war of the cartridge box, must add to the pages of history a tragedy which, for its atrocity, must surpass that of San Domingo. The difficulty resulting in the catastrophe of the destruction of the Union, and that again in civil war, the effects of which man cannot foresee, is not in the question of *negro* or *no negro*, but in the question of taxation—a question involving our rights and liberties, for it involves the question of free government. The question of taxation is, in government, what the question of original sin is in morals, the head and front, the source and origin of all evil. It is, in fact, the test of the true character of a Government; where most restricted and best guarded, the Government partakes of the liberal or republican form; where least so, the despotic form. We need express no surprise, then, at the declaration of the immortal Burke: "*In modern times the spirit of liberty inheres in the principle of taxation.*" The reason why the spirit of liberty in modern times inheres in the principle of taxation is, because the contest between power and liberty is the contest between the Government and the people that are governed, and the additional reason that with the *power of taxation resides the power of the Government*. Deprive it wholly of the power of taxation, it is worthless; give it the unrestricted power, it becomes an unmitigated despotism. We have seen how this power, instead of being employed for the high and noble purposes for which the Government was established, has been prostituted to the base and sordid purpose of robbing the people of one section and swindling those of another; how an

abuse of the power of taxation has destroyed the equilibrium of our system until the central Government has ceased to move, like the sun in the heavens, giving light, and heat, and life to all within its influence, but has become a baleful comet, leaving its line of direction "scorched with fire and stained with blood." The Government of Washington is gone. The battles of the Revolution were fought for a principle, and that was that taxation and representation must go together. We discarded this principle in the structure of our Government, and substituted in its stead the principle that population and representation must go together. Worse still, we denied to ourselves the practical application of this substituted principle by depriving ourselves of representation for two-fifths of our slave population. Not only so—we imposed taxation upon the population thus shorn of representation. Thus not only was violated the principle for which the Revolutionary war was fought, but likewise a violation of the principle substituted in its stead. I have endeavored to trace to the true cause the necessity which has forced us to a separation as the only hope of political salvation. From the same cause, unless removed or a remedy in some shape be applied, consequences not less fatal will be sure in time again to follow. Have we the wisdom and patriotism properly to adjust the question of taxation? This is the great question. Let us have discussion, earnestly seeking for truth. If we shall fail to accomplish this grand result, the Government of the Confederate States must go the way of all flesh. Undoubtedly we shall accomplish our deliverance from the North. But what of liberty? Shall we content ourselves in the establishment of another Government which must result, as the wisdom and patriotism of Patrick Henry foretold the Government of the old Union would, in the aggrandizement of power—not the protection of liberty?

ART. III.—OUR POSITION AND THAT OF OUR ENEMIES.

SOCIAL life is a state of dependence. The necessities, wants, enjoyments and pleasures incident to society can only be supplied at the expense of extraneous forces, which render mutual aid and co-operation indispensable. The majority of mankind serve in some inferior capacity. Impelled by the force of circumstances, they become the instruments of a higher power, for the accomplishment of

great objects, and the solution of intricate problems. Those who occupy a higher position, by reason of superior physical advantages, more extensive resources of wealth, or a more perfect development of intellectual and moral endowments, although they are generally considered as being relatively independent, yet they are only the stewards of the social household, and, consequently, are not the less the servants of society. But their sphere of duty being widely extended, they constitute the most useful and most important members of the social family.

Social life presents a perpetual conflict between antagonistic forces. The strong compel the weak to comply with the exactions of the most predominant interest. The poor furnish the nerve and sinew by which millions are added to the hoarded wealth of the rich. The ignorant labor and toil to purchase, with the sweat of their brow, the smile and approbation of the intelligent.

This warfare of opposing tendencies has not been originated by the conventional laws of society; nor has it its source in the evil passions of men. It is, on the contrary, the immutable decree of nature, the inevitable result of prevailing circumstances, the logical sequence of existing causes. If it were possible that society could discard the principle of subordination and antagonism, it could not prolong its existence for one single hour without becoming wrecked in all its essential qualities of identity and its inherent power of self-preservation.

History, in its detail, furnishes numerous illustrations of the fatal necessity of antagonism and subordination. A few Spaniards conquer the empire of Montezuma, seize upon the golden palaces and temples of the Incas, and extend their iron rule of arbitrary power over millions of half-civilized barbarians. The pilgrim fathers of Plymouth, and the cavaliers of Jamestown, armed with the appliances of superior civilization, hold in check the wild hordes of warlike savages, and gradually wrest a whole continent from the exclusive occupation of the aboriginal red man. A company of merchants swing the sceptre of despotism over two hundred millions of Hindoos, and trample in the dust the hereditary rights of magnificent princes, who, for centuries, had governed the native inhabitants with the indomitable energy of efficient rulers. The Saracens advanced to the walls of Vienna; but the Mussulman is forced to retreat beyond the Drave and the Danube, and the scimitar is, for the last time, unsheathed in the sight of

the imperial citadel of the Hapsburgs. The Moor takes possession of the richest provinces of Spain; but Andalusian chivalry prevails over Moorish valor, and the infidel is exiled, to seek in his own Mauritania a permanent home. Barbarian nations conquered Rome; but the Romans, in their turn, conquer the barbarians, by forcing them to acknowledge the superiority of Roman civilization and Roman laws. Polytheism persecutes Christianity; but Christianity conquers by its inherent power of resistance, and hurls polytheism from its lofty height of universal domination.

Thus, from the fratricide of Cain to the recent subjugation of the Turk, history is but a dramatic representation of an uninterrupted conflict of opposing social elements, which continually act and react upon each other.

Dependence constitutes the cement by means of which the various parts of which the structure of human society is composed are retained in their proper position. It is not only the essential principle, controlling the mutual relations of individuals, but it is the criterion which determines the precise result that is to be eliminated from the accidental contact of nation with nation and of race with race.

To question the morality of social dependence and subordination, is to question the morality of nature; for it would be as vain an attempt to govern the negro and Caucasian races upon the principle of social equality as it would be useless to try to square the circle, or seek to solve the mystery of perpetual motion.

If the postulates here assumed are admitted—and they cannot be fairly controverted—the conclusion irresistibly forces itself upon the unprejudiced mind, that dependence is the universal law of society, and as it is, under all circumstances, mutual in its mode of operation, it remains only to be decided whether the equivalents, which underlie the very foundation of this mutuality, are the absolute and essential correlatives of each other.

Absolute equality of social position is but a dream of the philosopher. It is utterly at variance with common experience, and contrary to nature. While it produces perfect uniformity, it would destroy the unity of design, and would thus, eventually, disarrange the whole fabric of the universe. The perfection of nature consists in diversity. Among the thousand millions of people dispersed over the habitable globe, no two persons can be found who are pos-

sessed of precisely the same aggregate of features, or the same unvaried outline of figure, and much less do they resemble each other in moral and mental characteristics.

Social dependence is the indispensable concomitant of every social relation. The obedience yielded by the child to parental rule, and the tacit submission of the citizen to the force and legal operation of the laws, are the most striking illustrations of the truth of this proposition. As this is a universal principle that admits of no exception, the only question that requires solution is, who shall occupy the position of superiors, and what are the causes that give rise to this relative superiority and inferiority of social position?

Those will be the superiors who, by virtue of their mental and physical endowments, their social advantages and peculiarity of circumstances, are able to perform the duties and assume the responsibility of superiors. This principle is the very soul of social order; it is the fundamental law which preserves the symmetry and beautiful adoption of all visible objects, as perfect and unbroken links in the great chain of nature.

Man, in his individual isolation, is an imperfect being. As a solitary and unconnected link of nature, his physical and mental powers would be inadequate to meet the requirements of human life. By the law of association only he acquires individual perfection, and thus fulfils the purposes and designs for the accomplishment of which he was created. Society, and the duty of self-preservation, invest him with moral accountability, and assign to him the highest rank in the scale of animated creatures.

Society is the natural state of man. The striking inequality of physical and intellectual endowments, by which one individual is distinguished from another, is of itself the strongest bond of union, which imports stability and permanence to the coherence of social forces that bind man to his fellow.

The weak and helpless infant, dependent as it is, during the course of its gradual development, on a kindred being in full maturity, is the living type of natural inferiority, which, in its kind, is irremediable. Woman, whose physical constitution is frail and delicate, can never occupy the more independent position which masculine vigor and masculine energy secure.

The active exercise of the human will is in a measure controlled by the stern necessity of circumstances, and cir-

cumstances cannot be created at pleasure; but they casually occur, often without human interference, and more frequently in direct opposition to well-conceived plans and wisely-laid schemes.

Self-interest is the chief motive-power which rouses up the latent energies, and counteracts the passive indolence of human nature. Domestic slavery exists, not because it is moral or immoral, but because it is a social good, conferring incalculable benefits upon mankind. It has indirectly contributed to the advancement of the spiritual, moral and physical well-being of society.

It was not a disinterested principle of philanthropy, but the universally prevalent motive of self-interest, which abolished slavery in the Northern States. In the stern and rigid climate of northern latitudes, where the unproductive soil must be fertilized by the appliances of art, where no valuable staple products are cultivated, slave labor is not only too expensive, but the severity of the climate itself is hostile to its perpetuation. Immigration from foreign countries furnishes Northern States an abundant supply of labor, and there the European Jebusite is far better fitted to subserve the purposes of the penuriously calculating capitalist than the sun-bred African.

The inequality of social position being dictated by nature itself, it cannot be considered immoral; for every relation, whether of a public or a private character, which strictly complies with the physical and social requirements of man, and is inevitable from the force of circumstances, must be moral, in an ethical point of view; otherwise the moral law would derive its sanction from injustice, which is a paradox fraught with the most absurd consequences.

Social subordination not being in itself immoral, no morality can attach to the various modifications of dependence; for these modifications are the creatures of circumstances, and are not called into existence by individual action or self-willed human agency. The conditions which underlie the relation of labor and capital are the result of the peculiarities of climate, soil, and the social character of the people. Policy cannot counteract what nature and circumstances render an absolute necessity. It is as utterly impossible to abolish domestic slavery in the Southern States as it would be ruinous to dispense with free labor in non-slaveholding communities. It would be a crime, violative of social and natural law, to destroy a social institution which perpetuates a system of labor, magnificent in

results, natural in principle, and most perfect in its routine of practice.

Citizenship being merely a conventional right guaranteed to the parties of the political compact, those who, by reason of natural inferiority, are incapable of performing the duties of freemen cannot legitimately claim to be entitled to the rights of freemen. Those to whom the law vouchsafes the right of protection, and secures gratuitous subsistence, must, in return, perform corresponding duties as a compensatory equivalent.

Philosophical axioms and metaphysical abstractions have never exercised a beneficial influence for the advancement of the physical or moral well-being of mankind. Leaving out of consideration whatever is practical and possible, philosophers have generalized where generalization was fraught with monstrous absurdities. They have invented fictions and theories. They have been building air castles upon the sand of sophistry, which the tempest of stubborn reality reduces to their vapid insignificance.

The sententious aphorism, called the golden rule, is the only perfect principle known to man which may be considered as the fundamental law of moral right and legal justice.

"All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." This is the law of laws, and the universal principle upon which social morality is founded. It is admitted, however, that this simple rule of Divine revelation has been frequently misinterpreted, so as to render it applicable to the government of angels rather than to that of men. But the teachings of the Bible were designed to reach the judgment and the heart of imperfect beings; and the moral code of the Scriptures is pre-eminently superior to every other moral code in this, that it speaks the language of nature, and its admonitory counsels never contradict the laws of cause and effect.

It is a perversion of logic and common sense to contend that, under the practical operation of "the golden rule," it is the duty of the master to manumit his slave; because, under similar circumstances, if the master occupied the position of the slave he would desire to enjoy the advantages of freedom. But if this exacting principle of reciprocity were true, it would be destructive of the harmony and existing order of society; it would invest the socialistic idea of agrarianism with the sanctity of Divine authority. The millionaire would be the first victim of this dangerous

delusion, and he would be required to surrender at least one-half of his wealth to the vagabond mendicant. If Dives had, like Lazarus, been compelled to pick up the crumbs that may have fallen from the rich man's table, he could not have suppressed the wish of sharing the luxurious plenty of Dives, rather than be the destitute, sorrow-stricken individual called Lazarus.

Under the true exegetical construction of the rule, the master is in duty bound to treat his slave with the same humanity and kindness he could legitimately claim for himself if he were placed in the subordinate position occupied by the slave.

The principles enunciated in the Declaration of Independence have been invoked to condemn the institution of domestic slavery. The truth of "the glittering generalities" which were designed as the frontispiece of the Republican temple, is not quite as self-evident as it might seem upon a superficial perusal of that remarkable instrument.

Men are *not created equal*, either physically, morally or intellectually. This proposition admits of no controversy. It is self-evident as a fact; it is philosophically true. Nor is the speculative theory confirmed by experience or history that "all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among them are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

The most sacred of the rights here enumerated is the inviolability of human life—for it is guarded by the innate principle of self-preservation, and effectually protected by the universally conceded right of self-defence. But, notwithstanding that this right is hedged in by almost insurmountable barriers, it is voluntarily and involuntarily surrendered to, if not ignored by, the highest of all laws, the law of necessity. The block and the gibbet have nullified this inalienable right in millions of instances. The sword and the cannon have reaped the bloody harvest of the noblest of its defenders. Poverty, starvation and destitution have sacrificed an innumerable host of bleeding victims upon its sacred altar. Violence and accident have slain thousands of the consecrated worshippers of its divinity.

History is full of illustrations, clearly demonstrating that the right to life is no more sacred than any other social right; and that it could never resist the opposing force of circumstances. One of the earliest human events recorded in the Bible is the history of a fratricide.

The proposition that man has "an inalienable right to liberty," is still more enigmatical. Political or civil liberty is not a natural, but a conventional, right. Instead of being absolute, as a cause, inherent in the constitution of society, it is but relative as a mere consequence, resulting from the nature of the social compact agreed to or adopted by the parties to the compact, either in express terms or by tacit acquiescence.

Whenever the constituent elements of a political community are heterogeneous in their origin and ethnological features; whenever a superior race, endowed with the highest moral, social and intellectual capabilities, comes in contact with an inferior race, which has scarcely divested itself of its coarse, sensual and purely physical propensities, the innate principle of self-preservation and self-defence would itself be sufficient to suggest the only practicable and reasonable basis upon which such a society can be efficiently organized, and the affairs of the Government can be safely conducted. Under such circumstances, the visionary ideas of political and social equality are merely absurd, if not preposterous. It is the wisest and the best that generally govern everywhere; and it is designed by nature that they should govern. The most intellectual portion of the political community possess not only the requisite abilities, but they have the natural right to establish rules and regulations, imperatively demanded to insure the safety of the State and the permanency of the existing political and social institutions. "*Salus populi supr ma lex.*"

In every civilized community the laws are enforced and executed under the sanction of penalties and punishments. The deprivation of civil rights and disgraceful incarceration are the most effective means resorted to by retributive justice to restrain the arbitrary abuses of the physical liberty of brute force, and the scornful disregard of law and social restrictions.

The common soldier, either from inclination or necessity, barter away this inalienable birthright of liberty for a mess of pottage, and suffers himself to be used as an automatic machine of an exacting despotic power, effectively exercised by means of rigid disciplinary regulations.

If the moral sentiment of mankind has approved or connived at the enslavement of men of the same race and kindred under any possible contingency, it is utterly inconceivable upon what principle of reason, logic, or common

sense, the social and legal subordination of an inferior race, protected by stringent laws, should be condemned and denounced without stint and measure, when the subordination is strictly controlled by existing circumstances, and sanctioned by the laws of necessity.

The most fanciful and least tangible inalienable right of metaphysicians and abstractionists is "the pursuit of happiness."

Philosophers are not agreed upon the definition or the constituent elements of happiness. If the teachers of the Epicurean school have successfully solved this perplexing riddle, it is only necessary, in order to be supremely happy, to follow the instincts of our nature; to indulge freely in the enjoyment of social pleasure, and to sup the cup of animal gratification whenever offered to our acceptance. The stoics, on the other hand, frowned upon the loose morals of their voluptuous neighbors. They taught the higher philosophy of abstinence, physical endurance, resignation, and heroic self-denial, which they considered as the *summum bonum* of human life. The Pyrrhonists occupied a neutral ground. Virtue and vice, good and evil, had no existence in their moral code or social philosophy. Tranquility of mind and exemption from care were the most sublime ideas of social perfection to which they aspired.

But none of these conceptions of happiness is really true; for the term happiness is not absolute, but merely relative in its signification. It consists in mental self-satisfaction, and derives its peculiarities from the temperament, the mental capacity, and the moral training of the individual, and is, in a great measure, dependent on surrounding circumstances.

By whatever distinctive features happiness may be characterized, it is circumscribed within very narrow limits.

Happiness is not secured by any superior social position; nor does social subordination in the least interfere with, or thwart, its enjoyment. The bondman, engaged in daily labor; the servant, submissively bowing to his superior lord; the beggar, strolling from house to house for a crumb of bread, may, at times, be happier than the king on his throne, or the wealthy aristocrat who revels in luxury and pleasure.

Having thus clearly defined, and definitely disposed of, every principle that can possibly have any bearing upon the subject under consideration, it is indispensably necessary that the precise nature of African slavery, as it exists

in the Southern States, should be distinctly understood. Domestic slavery in the South is nothing more nor less than the subordination of an inferior race to a superior race; constituting a natural social relation, as strictly conforming with the dictates of justice and right as the almost absolute dependence of the child on parental authority and parental support.

Every social community, no matter how far it may be advanced in civilization, is composed of two distinct elements: the physical element of labor, and the intellectual and moral element of contrivance and supervision. These two elements, being placed in juxtaposition, are constantly seeking an equilibrium, for a predominance of the one over the other gives rise to an antagonism which must prove fatal, either to the dominant or to the subordinate class so far as either may be the disturbing cause, deranging the balance of the existing social institutions. These two elements merge into each other by imperceptible gradations, and it is impossible to determine where the one takes its beginning and the other ends. They form an interminable circle, and each link in the chain, though different from every other link, is as perfect and as necessary in its sphere of action as the most favored individual of the social concatenation.

In some States and countries the physical element of labor is called hired or free labor, because in those countries labor is bought and sold like any other commodity. Its value is determined upon the principle of supply and demand. The aggregate amount of its value is ascertained by an equivalent number of days, weeks, months, or years; or, in some particular cases, it is estimated by the bulk or the nature of the labor performed. In the so-called free States, the laboring class and the supervisory and intellectual class, ethnographically considered, belong to the same race; and every individual of the laboring class, to whom circumstances alone may have assigned an inferior position, may, by his own innate powers of self-perfection, claim his appropriate rank as a member of the intellectual class, acting in that peculiar capacity for which he was designed by nature. But these are exceptional cases, and they only confirm and illustrate the rule.

In the so-called slave States, the physical elements of labor are furnished, as in the free States, by the laboring class—belonging, however, to a race distinct from that of the supervisory and intellectual class. The peculiarities of

physical, moral and intellectual characteristics have impressed upon the negro race the badge of inferiority, and the social position it is naturally fitted to occupy is that of absolute dependence on a superior controlling power.

The African negro, as domesticated in the South, possesses the moral faculty of yielding implicit obedience to superiors; and being naturally gifted with the power of imitation, his mission upon earth seems to be to become the servant of the Caucasian race; for, what is most remarkable, the negro and the Caucasian are the only two races that can harmoniously exist together in the same social community; each occupying its own appropriate sphere—the one constituting the labor class, the other the supervisory and intellectual class.

The aggregate amount, and consequent value of labor, is not estimated upon the basis of the division of time, as indicated in the calendar, but upon the probabilities of the average duration of life and the physical capabilities of the laborer. The compensatory equivalent is not an indefinite and uncertain allowance, dependent on the changes and vicissitudes of human events, but it is an unfailing pension, guaranteed by the law as well as the traditional rights which underlie the foundation of the social institution. This institution consecrates the relation of servant and master upon the principle of the diversity of nature, by which some are born to command and others to obey.

This institution assigns to the African negro the position he is able to fill with credit to himself, by rendering him useful to society at large, in contributing his share of labor for the advancement of the happiness and civilization of mankind. While the master exercises the supervisory and controlling power, and reaps the reward of his labor, the slave enjoys a higher degree of well-being and exemption from care than any other class of laborers in Christian or pagan communities. He is not, like the poor Jebusite of the free States, the object of scorn and contempt of the wealthy nabobs who feast on the earnings of industry, but he constitutes a member of the family; and if he does his duty, and performs his part well, he is treated with affectionate regard by all the members of the household.

As an agriculturist, the African negro is the happiest peasant in the world. He lives, so to say, in a neat village, surrounded by his friends and relatives. During six days in the week he is engaged in the labor of the field, with no greater strain on his physical resources than that sustained

by the poor farmers of the free States. He is not only furnished with his daily bread, but his ratio of meat is never wanting, and frequently other luxuries are added. He is lodged in comfortable quarters, appropriately clothed to suit the season, and his Sunday dress is generally more costly and elegant than that of the laboring classes of free-labor countries.

He is not exposed to the dangers of starvation and destitution when war or civil commotion cuts off the dividends, or a financial crisis demolishes the airy fabrics of adventurous knights of fortune. Nor is he suffered to languish on a bed of sickness unrelieved; and if death cuts short his career, the tear of the master and the mistress and of the children is shed upon his grave, as a tribute due to a faithful servant, and as a memorial consecrated to his friendship and attachment.

That the labor system of the Southern States is far more perfect and more natural than the labor system prevalent in free countries no one can doubt who is capable of divesting himself of sectional and local prejudices, and who is not infected by that hot-headed, senseless fanaticism, which never listens to reason.

As long as unoccupied territories are open to the settlement of the free laborer, no antagonism, dangerous to the peace of society and to the perpetuity of republican institutions, can develop itself, calculated to disturb the balance between the labor class and the supervisory and intellectual class. But as soon as this avenue of disgorgement is closed, and whenever the emigrant ceases to find fields of enterprise and profitable employment in distant countries, the free-labor system must either be carried to its ultimate consequences, leading to the adoption of the principle of agrarianism, or the republican form of government must assume the features of military despotism to save society from the destructive tendency of social and political equality. In the free-labor States there is no possible escape from the alternative; and the decision of this momentous question is only deferred to some remote period which is still concealed behind the shadows of the present; but the contingencies necessary for the solution of this problem must inevitably be evolved from the events of our contemporary civilization. In republican governments political equality and social equality go hand in hand; the one is the natural deduction from the other.

History teaches us that, in all countries where republics

have flourished, the labor class and the supervisory and intellectual class were divided by marked political and social distinctions; but both classes belonging to the same race, and being consequently intellectual and moral equals, the labor class gradually extorted from the supervisory class the recognition of equal rights and privileges as an element of political power. Political equality having once been conceded or exacted by force, it could not fail to produce the most dangerous consequences. The levelling principle of agrarianism, which is the most conspicuous type of social equality, was everywhere invoked as irresistibly deducible from the uniform political status of the people; and to save society from utter dissolution, military dictatorship proved the only effectual means to stem the wild turbulence of the masses.

Thus the republics of Greece, after having been demoralized by the political amalgamation of the subject with the dominant class, became a prey to the rapacity of Philip the Macedon, and were made tributary to the military government of Alexander the Great.

Patrician Rome struggled for centuries against the predominance of plebeian rule, but the political equality guaranteed to the servile population as well as to conquered barbarians became the death-knell of Roman liberty, and inaugurated the bloody reign of the Neros and the Caligulas, under the protection of the Prætorian cohorts of the empire.

The Puritans in England were the most zealous advocates of political equality; they were the levellers of modern times, but their system of government was superseded by the military dictatorship of Cromwell, and the subsequent restoration of the Stuarts.

The French Republicans of 1791 attempted to reorganize society upon the principle of strict political and social equality, but their ingenious system disappeared like "the baseless fabrics of a vision," and the whole scheme of government was finally subverted by the military genius of Napoleon.

In 1848, similar causes produced similar results. A government instituted upon the principle of "liberty, fraternity and equality," became the stepping-stone of an adventurer for the usurpation of imperial power.

In connection with the position assumed, it must be borne in mind that the tendency of capital is concentration, that of labor is expansion and diffusion. As capital

is accumulating, and the wealth of the country increases, the intellectual and supervisory class becomes more select and aristocratic, and it diminishes in its aggregate of individual numbers. On the other hand, the labor class continues to increase in geometrical progression, for poverty is more favorable to the reproduction of the species than luxury and wealth. But this numerical excess necessarily induces competition, and uncontrolled competition must reduce wages to the lowest starvation point. In the course of centuries, the remaining uncultivated lands and unoccupied territories all over the world will be in possession of the Caucasian race, who will fill the earth with their teeming millions. The whole habitable globe will be what China proper is now—so densely populated that not a foot of soil, susceptible of tillage, will be suffered to be vacant and unimproved.

Long before this eventful destiny of the human race is fully consummated, the masses of Northern laborers, urged on by poverty, hunger and destitution, will raise the war cry of social equality as the natural and most logical consequence of political equality. History has furnished the best illustration of what may be anticipated as the final issue and the end of such a desperate struggle. The government of the sword has universally been substituted for the government of the masses whenever an attempt has been made to obliterate all distinction of classes in the political economy of society.

Such are the dangers to which the free-labor system of Northern society is exposed. Such are the hidden shoals and sand-banks on which the ship of State of the Northern republic will eventually be wrecked.

The republican States of the South possess the most perfect social system that can possibly be devised to secure the perpetuity of republican institutions, so far as forms of government, contrived by imperfect beings, can be perpetuated.

The labor class occupies an inferior social position, and is not flattered and wheedled into submission by the nominal concession of political rights, which the laborer is incapable of appreciating, nor has he time or leisure to study their tendency, and estimate their ultimate result. The laborer moves in the sphere assigned to him by nature itself; and which, in the natural course of events, he can no more voluntarily abandon than the planets can deviate one single inch from their proper orbits.

The pure-blooded negro, born in the Southern States, is the most loyal of all human beings. His attachment to his native home and the associations of his childhood binds him to those whose destiny he shares, with a devotion equal to the most devout religious sentiment of the pious Christian.

The temptations and inducements offered to him by the piratical crew of the British army, during the war of 1812, to desert his master, met with no response from the Southern slave, and he became a camp-follower only as a captive, but never as a volunteer deserter. During the recent John Brown raid, at Harper's Ferry, no Virginia negro could be induced to join the forces of the invading marauders, notwithstanding the promises of freedom held out to him as the reward of petty treason.

No Southern man, who is in the least acquainted with the character of the negro, can be intimidated by the Vandal cry of servile insurrection. This once potent weapon of abolitionism has already been blunted, and rendered useless as an efficient means of attack.

The idea that the Southern negro will, at some future day, rise in mass to assert his so-called natural right of freedom, as the political and social equal of his master, is not only absurd, but, judging from the natural course of things, it is an utter impossibility. Even if the insurrectionary element could be concentrated to strike a simultaneous blow, the negro possesses neither the physical nor the moral abilities to accomplish anything except his own destruction.

Hayti and St. Domingo, instead of militating against the correctness of this position, only confirm it. The insurrection in that island was really not a servile war, but a political revolution. The French Convention had passed a decree abolishing slavery in the French colonies; and having never been carried into effect in the French part of Hayti, the mulatto element of the slave population, making common cause with English abolition emissaries, plotted the massacre of the white race to Africanize the island and wrest it from the grasp of French domination. The full-blooded negro, born on the soil, had no share in the contrivance, and aided in the execution of the plot only as a mere passive instrument.

The only dangerous element, which must ultimately destroy the harmony and compactness of Southern society, is the free negro and the mulatto.

But it should be the study of Southern statesmen to devise the most mild, and, at the same time, sufficiently stringent measures, having for their object the ultimate expulsion from our borders of the free negro. Nor should sentimental philanthropy be permitted to pervert the submissive docility of the negro, by attempting to implant upon his pliant character the exotic independence of the Caucasian race, thus exhibiting to the world an unnatural monster production, which has been aptly styled a "*black white man*." The strictest police regulations for the protection, as well as the proper government of the negro population, ought to be adopted and enforced. Such laws cannot interfere with the enjoyments and happiness of the negro. Their tendency is to civilize him, by making him a law-abiding member of society; improving his morals, and habituating him to a regular and sober life. He should be taught to know his proper place, and to respect the white man rather than fear him.

The Southern labor system is by no means perfect—it is still in its infancy; and experience will teach many valuable lessons conducive to its gradual amelioration. But, considered in the light of a social institution, having its foundation in nature itself, it is capable of resisting the storms of political revolutions. Its existence can never be endangered by the mob riots prevalent in free State society. It will remain unchanged, and its stability will not be shaken by the clashing antagonism which must necessarily be induced by the impetuous current of events, between the labor class and the intellectual, or capital class, of the free States. It will remain unaffected by the coming social war, which is even now preparing in every free-labor country, and which is not to be a war of religion, or a war of races, nor even a war of classes, but exclusively a war of opposing interests: labor and capital arrayed in hostile attitude, each battling for supremacy and predominance.

But the enemy must be kept at the proper distance; the incendiary and the fanatic must not be permitted to undermine the social prosperity of the South by engrafting upon our institutions free-labor principles. Eternal vigilance alone can secure the political and social independence of the South.

As long as Southern statesmen act with wisdom and prudence, slavery will serve as the palladium of republican government. It is even now the most powerful conservative element, uniting all the members of the same political

community into one common bond of brotherhood, cemented by common interest, and rendered indissoluble by the apprehension of common danger and common ruin.

In the Southern States every man who claims his descent from the Caucasian race belongs to the supervisory and intellectual class. No matter what position in society he may occupy, if he strictly conforms to the rules of ordinary propriety he knows that he was born to command, and he can measure lances with the noblest and most aristocratic of the land, and thus assert for himself the highest dignity of manhood; and his claim to respectability and consideration is tacitly conceded by public opinion. The slave labor system has its most zealous supporters and advocates among those whose resources are too limited to own slaves.

If negro slavery in the Southern States is a social evil, it is no less an evil that the negro race is mentally, morally and physically inferior to the Caucasian race. It is no less an evil that man is not ushered into the world in a perfect state of maturity, completely fitted out with all that is necessary to make him happy and contented. It is no less an evil that the free laborer was not born a millionaire; that the deformed was not made a perfect model of manhood; that the idiot and the stupid trifler were not endowed with the highest capacities of intelligence; that woman was denied the vigor and strength of constitution allotted to man.

A thousand imaginary evils, of a similar character, might be pointed out; but those only who, in their madness and folly, think themselves wiser than God, characterize that as evil which Eternal wisdom has called good, and stamped with the seal of perfection.

The general moral tendency of the Southern labor system does not suffer by comparison, if placed in juxtaposition with the system of free labor. The distinction between a Southern plantation and a Northern manufacturing establishment is nominal, not real. The one manufactures cotton, sugar, rice or tobacco; the other prepares for market commodities of commerce for the use of the consumer.

It is immoral, indeed, to reclaim the black worshipper of the fetich from idolatry and superstition; to teach the uncouth barbarian the arts of civilization; to elevate him, by a beneficent system of labor, to the moral dignity of manhood; to train him up as a useful member of civilized society, impressing his untutored mind with the necessity of obedience to law, or a superior controlling power. But it is moral to reduce the individuality of brothers of the

same race, the same religion, and the same ancestors, to the automatic materialism of machines; to take advantage of their poverty and want, and force them to exchange the products of their labor for trifling and inadequate wages.

It is immoral to inure the negro, thriftless and indolent by nature, to habits of industry; to provide for him wholesome food and comfortable lodgings; to nurse him when prostrated on a bed of sickness; to afford him gratuitous protection and support no less during childhood than when he becomes superannuated by decrepid old age. But it is moral to distribute a scanty allowance, hardly sufficient to supply the articles of first necessity, to those who are the political equals of their taskmasters; being periodically harassed by the exactions of soulless landlords; during sickness, abandoned to the cold charity of the world; and consigned, in old age, to the moral degradation of the poor house.

It is immoral to train an inferior race of men, who were originally aliens to our soil, our institutions, our civilization, our religion and our language, to the skilful management of the plough—an instrument of labor graced by the toiling hands of a Cincinnatus; or in the art of cleaving the soil with the hoe, once wielded with skill by a Virgil. But it is moral to chain the poor Jebusites of labor, who have been educated in civilized society, like galley-slaves, to the wheel that turns the spindle, and imparts motion to the shuttle.

It is immoral to invoke the aid of the man of God, in the capacity of a laborer worthy of his hire, that the gloom of ignorance of the African may be dispelled by the glad tidings of salvation, that he may be made acquainted with the duties and responsibilities he owes to his Maker and to society. But it is moral to wipe the blush of modesty from the face of youthful innocence, to soil the domestic virtues of woman by indiscriminate contact and corruptive associations.

It is immoral to make the slave the beneficiary of accumulated wealth, and deal out to him the measure of social advantages in just proportion with the increased prosperity of the master. But it is moral to revel in magnificent palaces, feasting, in heedless apathy, on the life-blood of millions of toiling and spinning slaves, who are doomed to die starved, miserable, wretched victims of the soulless aristocracy of wealth and capital.

But the Southern labor system is not only moral, in the

highest sense of that term, but it is a holy cause. It is the cause of humanity and civilization. It christianizes millions of poor, degraded savages. It enriched the civilized world by taming the wild, useless, physical element of the most inferior race of mankind, and giving it force and direction, until it emerged from its chaotic deformity, and assumed, under the disciplinary teachings of the Southern master, the comely form of an entire new creation.

The most valuable products of slave labor—sugar, rice and cotton—feed the poor and clothe the masses of the civilized nations of the earth.

Cotton, passing through the channels of commerce and manufacture, exercises a more powerful influence to preserve the peace between the great powers which control the political destinies of mankind, than all the statesmanship and diplomacy concocted at foreign offices, or at cabinet councils. If the cultivation of cotton were suspended for an indefinite number of years, England and France would become involved in a financial ruin, more disastrous than the South Sea bubble or the tulip mania. Poverty and starvation would seek relief in revolution, and the whole social fabric would be threatened with impending disorganization and dissolution.

The immense amount of capital invested in the various branches of manufacture, for which cotton furnishes the principal raw material, would be rendered as effectually unproductive as if it were sunk into the depths of the sea. The splendid edifices, whose capacious halls are now alive with motion, would be gazed at as stupendous but useless monuments of national glory, that has irrecoverably departed. The hum of the spindle and the whiz of the wheel would be hushed, and humble industry would either stroll from house to house, asking a pittance to stay the ebbing tide of life for a day, or proud labor would seek the subterranean haunts of conspiracy, and taking counsel from despair, like an enraged Nemesis, it would hurl from the throne of power dynasties, aristocracies, and ecclesiastical establishments.

ART. IV.—THE FUTURE OF OUR CONFEDERATION.

ABOUT to take our place among the nations of Christendom, it becomes interesting and useful to inquire what are our qualifications to discharge the role which we have un-

dertaken; and what will be our relative position, strength and standing among those nations?

The extent of our territory will exceed that of any other of those nations except Russia, Brazil and the Republic of the North. In this estimate, we, of course, exclude colonial dependencies, which are as often a source of weakness as of strength. In capacity for agricultural production, no nation, probably, surpasses us. Our population, in mere numbers, would place us along with the lesser Christian nations; but its dispersion over a mighty space, its active and independent habits, and its admirable industrial organization and military spirit, would make it equal in the struggle of war to double the same population densely settled and occupied in mechanical, commercial and manufacturing pursuits. A country studded with towns is easy to invade and conquer; a country interspersed with forests and mountain ranges is almost invincible. Such a country begets the military spirit, makes men hardy, adventurous and self-reliant; good marksmen and admirable horsemen; besides furnishing the most favorable opportunities and localities for the exhibition of those admirable qualities of mind and body which it generates and fosters.

Our past history of itself would suffice to show the alacrity with which we enter into war, and the courage with which we conduct it. But the facts of the hour prove more than this: they show that our whole white population, of proper age, is ready to turn out to meet the invading foe, and that it can do so in most parts of the South without diminishing agricultural production, and with little disturbance to any branch of industry. It may be safely estimated that a population of twelve millions, one-third of whom are slaves, are equal in time of war to a population of twenty millions without slaves. Greece and Rome imbibed their proud and lofty natures and their indomitable spirit from that aristocratic position, which every citizen felt that he occupied when he looked down upon the less privileged slave class. They could turn out every citizen as a soldier, with slaves to attend the camp and wait on the soldiery, and yet leave slaves enough at home to carry on the ordinary routine of industry. History furnishes abundant proof that the institution of domestic slavery conduces to national strength; and the events of the day are about to confirm the lessons of history.

What, however, most broadly and favorably distinguishes the South from all other Christian countries, are its con-

servative feeling and action, its religious faith, its moral purity, its strong convictions, its contentedness, and its exemption from pauperism. Good education, and leisure and opportunity for reading and reflection are more common in the South than in any other country; yet in no part of Christendom do men think so much alike. Throughout the rest of the Christian world, "too much learning hath run men mad." In Europe, and in our North, every man of learning heads a sect, or is a sect to himself, in politics, in religion, in moral philosophy, and in every department of social science. There is faith about nothing—speculation about all things. Education produces uniformity of opinion with us, begets diversity of opinion elsewhere. We accept as true the faith of our fathers, believe in the authority of the Bible, attested by the voice of the civilized world for almost two thousand years; heed and respect the lessons of history, ancient and profane, and pursue no Utopias that promise to change man's nature, his social habitudes, and his inequalities of condition, because we believe in nature and in nature's God. We should bore the reader were we to dilate on this topic; yet a few remarks will be excused, because the part which we are called upon now to enact gives ten-fold interest to this subject. Our attention has of late been particularly directed to it by reverting to several articles which have appeared in the English Reviews within the last twelve months, on "Rationalism in the Church of England." This church is probably the most conservative body of men in Europe, yet one-third of its ministry are socialists, like Mr. Kingsly, the author of "Alton Locke," who would subvert the whole order of society; and another third transcendentalists—German Rationalists—men who deny the inspiration of Moses, the Prophets and the Apostles; who ridicule miracles as absurd and incredible, in almost the very words of Hume; and who will not even admit that there is historical truth in the Bible, such as is to be found in the recorded annals of Greece and Rome—men who add hypocrisy to infidelity, and who are trying, under the garb of Christianity, like Boston clergymen, to destroy all faith in Christ. We cite this instance to show that if infidelity dominates in the Church of England, it is fair to presume that it dominates everywhere.

We have often asked the question, how comes this speculative, unsettled state of opinion and of faith outside of slave society, and how happens it that within that society

the very reverse state of things exists? and have thus answered it: "Society is a whole, composed of many essential and necessary parts, and the whole becomes deranged when one of its great and necessary parts is destroyed. It is a series of subordination, a social chain, and 'when one link's broken, all the chain's destroyed.' Domestic slavery is an important and necessary link in that chain, and all society flies out of gear when that link is destroyed or removed."

If our theory be not true, how comes it that faith predominates with us, and infidelity, in its every form, rages elsewhere?

There is a single form of infidelity, and that is a disbelief in the Bible, to which we intend to confine our remarks for the present, and to attempt to show that the South adheres to Christianity, because the institution of slavery accords with the injunctions and morality of the Bible; and that all free society must reject the Bible if it approve its own institutions and disapprove slavery, because slavery is not only instituted and justified by the Christian God, but, much more, *because Christian morality can be practiced only in slave society.* It is to this latter view of the subject that we shall confine our argument, since everybody knows that slavery finds justification and authority throughout the whole of the Old and New Testaments, and that the Devil himself could not "find Scripture for his purpose," if the Devil be an abolitionist. Those who defend free society must, for this reason alone, if consistent, reject the Bible; and whatever other charges may be preferred against them, it really seems that, in and out of the pulpit, they are fast vindicating themselves from the charge of inconsistency.

Christian morality, in its most distinctive doctrine, "enjoins us to do unto others as we would that they should do unto us." This injunction is easily fulfilled, and usually fulfilled within the family circle of parent, husband, wife, children, brothers, sisters and slaves. There is no competition in such a circle, no effort to circumvent, rival, cheat and get the better of each other. The law of love, and not of selfishness, prevails. Each one is usually ready to sacrifice his or her own ease and selfish enjoyment to promote the happiness of the other members of the little community. Reflected happiness, not sensual and selfish greed, is the aim of all.

When the father punishes the child for misconduct, if the punishment be proportioned to the offence and be cal-

culated to prevent its repetition, he fulfils the injunction of the golden rule; and would be guilty of a breach of that rule were he to neglect to inflict the punishment.

Were a father to set his son free at fifteen years of age, and start him in the wide world, without control or direction, to take care of himself, he would be guilty of a crime unless his poverty required him to do so. Except, in intention, the master who emancipates his negro slaves commits quite as great a crime as the father who throws his son upon the world prematurely. White boys, from fifteen to twenty-one, as a class, are more capable of taking care of themselves than negroes of any age.

He who punishes his negroes when they deserve it, and retains them in slavery, treating them humanely, fulfils the golden rule.

The slave improves his own condition, and elicits kinder treatment from his master by being obedient, industrious, and attentive to his master's interests. His interest dictates to him to obey this Christian injunction. And it is equally the master's interest to treat his slave well—for men, like horses, are most valuable when best treated. Negroes love their masters better than their children, and masters are always fond of their slaves. The relation of superior and inferior, of ruler and dependent, naturally begets mutual attachment—that of equals, as naturally generates envy, jealousy, rivalry and competition.

Now, let us turn to free society, and see how impossible it is to live within its ranks and practice Christian morality. The philosophy and practice of living, where all are equally free, is "every man for himself"—the precise and full negation of Christianity—a system of selfishness, instead of a system of love. To make good bargains is what every one is trying to do; and to make good bargains is to violate the golden rule—for it is to get from others more than we render unto them in return. To have one's house built cheaply, or to procure labor on low terms to cultivate one's farm, is highly creditable—because, to deprive the free laborer of his due and pinch his family for food and clothing, is consistent with the philosophy of universal liberty—"every man for himself." But we will not dwell on this subject. Every one who reflects knows that, according to the moral notions of the world, "he is most praiseworthy and meritorious who violates the golden rule, and gets the largest amount of other people's labor for the least amount of his own. Outside of the family circle, the best and the

greatest man is he who most wrongs his neighbor." Now, in the South, including slaves, nine-tenths of the world lives within the family circle, and has very little dealing with the outside world, and Christian morality is, in general, its natural morality; whilst a practice and mode of living the reverse of it—universal selfishness, rivalry and competition—is the morality (or immorality) of free society.

It is time the Southern clergy had taken this subject in hand, and we are emboldened to call their attention to it from hearing that two learned Professors—both clergymen—approved of our views on Moral Philosophy.

Orthodox Christianity prevails at the South, and infidelity is almost unknown. This will soon raise us in the estimation of foreign nations, and they will gradually begin to think well of our institutions, which are fraught with more blessings than those of any other country. Hitherto they have not dealt with us directly, and have had very little intercourse with us. They formed their opinions of us from lying Yankee accounts, and supposed that we were cruel in the treatment of our slaves because Northern Abolitionists told them so. The British travellers who have visited the South of late, have already paved the way to that favorable change of opinion which we predict. They concur in stating that our slaves are better off, so far as physical comfort is concerned, than the peasantry of Europe. England and France both regret the emancipation of their slaves, and are both already violating the principles on which emancipation was founded, in resorting to *involuntary* Coolie labor. They will soon find that *involuntary free* labor is very near akin to slave labor, and that the arguments that justify the one will go far to justify the other.

When the world knows us it will respect us. But it can never know us until we deal directly with it. What is far more important, disunion will teach us to respect ourselves. In this we have hitherto been sadly deficient. Whatever was home-made we considered contemptible. "Home-spun," "domestic," and "Virginia cloth," were terms of reproach. The true gentleman was educated at a Northern college, wore clothing made at the North or imported by the North, employed a Northern teacher, male or female, listened to a Yankee parson, and read Northern books, magazines and newspapers. We have been Yankee imitators and worshippers until now. We have been in a state of pupilage, and never learned to walk alone. War com-

pels us to learn to take care of ourselves without Yankee nursing. Until we learn that lesson, we cannot respect ourselves, nor do we see that we should respect ourselves; at least foreign nations will never respect us until we exhibit the power to make ourselves respected; until we show that we can live independently and live well within ourselves, and on our own means, skill and resources.

The South should at once take the lead, in thought, of all the nations of the earth. The civilization and the thought of other countries is effete, expended. Nations, like individuals, do all their thinking at and before a certain period of life. Greece had exhausted her thought in the time of Alexander the Great. Men as wise arose after that period as before, but there was nothing new for them to say. No new combinations of things suggested new thought. Rome did all her thinking before and during the Augustan age. Men seemed fools afterward, merely because their ancestry had left them nothing to think, to talk, or to write about. Christianity and chivalry made a new world and a new civilization. New thought arose, but that thought is also exhausted. The Englishman did all his thinking at or before the age of Elizabeth. The French wore out under Louis XIV, and Cervantes, the author of *Don Quixote*, pretty well used up all thought that was peculiar to Spain.

We of the South are about to inaugurate a new civilization. We shall have new and original thought; negro slavery will be its great controlling and distinctive element; but we should compound it of as many elements as possible—Greek, Roman, Hebrew, Christian, English, French, Spanish and Italian. If we do not cultivate intimate and friendly relations with the Mediterranean nations, we shall be mere imitators of the English.

ART. V.—CHAPTERS FROM AN UNPUBLISHED NOVEL.

[We select two, and shall probably give several other chapters hereafter, from a novel in manuscript, which has been placed at our disposal by the author, a gentleman of Alabama. The scene is laid at the South, and all the characteristics of the work are eminently Southern. The author will be able no doubt to find a publisher for it when quiet is restored in the country.]

CHAPTER I.

IN WHICH IS CONTAINED SOME ACCOUNT OF THE ANCIENT CITY OF ARBRE ROUGE, AND SOME OF THE "INHABITERS THEREOF."

HE who has enjoyed the pleasure—if it has proved a peculiar source of pleasure to others beside the author of *Martin Chuz-*

zlewit, and American Notes for Circulation—of a voyage up or down that American river, at once so mighty and so muddy, known in aboriginal dialect as the Mississippi, and translated in idiomatic grandiloquence, certainly American, if not aboriginal, Father of Waters, may remember a city—but elsewhere than in America a village—situated on its left or eastern bank, and about forty leagues above New Orleans, boasting a not less suggestive name than that of *Arbre Rouge*. Whence this designation, local or municipal, has been derived, antiquarians are not agreed; but with the usual proclivity of our American antiquarians to color tradition with the *radix sanguinea* of aboriginal romance, they have made the name a *souvenir* of Indian massacre, which is so far true that it was derived from no such association, but from a red cypress (*cupressus disticha*)* which stood prominent on the river bank at that point, and to which the early French voyageurs made fast, when stopping, the cables of their *batteaux*. *Arbre Rouge*, notwithstanding its present acquisitions of local pre-eminence, penal and political, military and eleemosynary, cannot be said to be now anything remarkable in the way of a city; but at the time of which we write it was even less remarkable in size, in importance, in pretension, albeit possibly for that very reason it may have only been the more respectable. There hung, then, over the place and people that air of listless drowsiness or stagnant somnambulism suggested by our American Goldsmith, as permeating Sleepy Hollow in the days of the intellectual supremacy of that redoubted knight of the ferule, and more than living type of the ideal Yankee—Master Ichabod Crane. This drowsiness may have been owing to the recent emergence of the country to which it belonged, and of which it was the extreme western barrier, from a state of colonial dependence on Spain, and the consequent absence of a necessary or normal element of Anglo-American progress or aggression to impart to it excitement. Where now stand the buildings of the U. S. garrison—made illustrious of late as the residence of our American Marlborough, *minus* the *suaviter in modo*—there stood then an old Spanish fort, an adobe structure, or structure built of logs and mud, with the usual accessories of officers' quarters, offices and stores enclosed by a rampart of earth some eight or ten feet high, mounted at intervals with guns of heavy calibre. In the rear of this fort was collected a number of cottages, which, from their proximity to the fort, and want of all system or plan in their general aspect of arrangement, had the appearance of having been assembled upon the same principle of instinctive sympathy that geese or other fowls huddle together behind a wall or rock for protec-

*The author, when this was written, had not seen M. Gayarre's account of the origin of this name (*History of Louisiana*, 2 vol., p. 127). If the tree was of the size there reported, it may be that the author derived from local tradition a wrong impression of the use to which it was put by the voyageurs.

tion. From the want of thrift indicated by the size and general negligence of appearance of these cottages, the inference might naturally arise that they contained the remains of the colonial population, or population deprived of the special favor and protection of a government with which it had sympathized not less politically than nationally. This was the more apparent from the fact, that they constituted a separate *faubourg* or *quartier*, called *par eminence* Spanish Town, to indicate an exclusiveness of nationality; as from their isolation from even the French inhabitants of Arbre Rouge, and their more than religious separation from the marauding adventurers floated since the capture of the country into it from the various portions of the newly settled West. But even among these humble white dwellings, with their tiled roofs and latticed verandahs, there mingled the usual discriminating evidences of pride and vanity, of poverty and wealth, which mark more populous and more ambitious communities. In the centre of the group there was a cottage of more than usual neatness—a neatness, if the expression is not contradicted by the idea, approaching to style. Its tasteful but not too ambitious *parterre*, its hedges of mock orange, wild olive, cherry laurel, or whatever else called in French or English, following the graceful windings of its numerous walks, and the peeping out here and there from the green foliage known only to the South of a modest *jet d'eau*, or a bit of statuary, proved the presence of a superior taste and indicated no less clearly a superiority of social position which belongs to caste.

The dwelling, to which the garden was an appropriate frontispiece, though small in its dimensions, and composed only of wood and yellow stucco, showed, in its windows, projections and points, an attempted reproduction of the taste of the fatherland of that mingled style in architecture of Gothic, Roman and Moorish, observed by travellers to prevail in Spain, which symbolizes in combination the carnal suspicion of the fortress with the religious faith of the Church, and relieves the sternness of boreal gloom by a voluptuous airiness of oriental light and warmth. The house, with its picturesqueness of style, and foreground of garden, with its walks, its hedges, its statues and fountains, crowned with overhanging orange trees, rich in foliage and pendent with fruit, formed a *coup d'œil*, or *tout ensemble*, suggestive of the banks of the Tagus or Guadalquivir, relieved possibly in some accidental point by an image derived from the provinces of France, bordering on Spain. Within the house, the furniture and decorations fulfilled in taste the promise of the exterior, there being, for an American domicile or abode, a much more than usual display of objects of virtu and tasteful *bijouterie*—*bijouterie* not more suggestive of the mechanic than the artist, as it is too often witnessed in the lacquered tawdriness of American displays, but partaking of

the delicate finish which may be supposed to characterize the Benvenuto Cellini style or taste in art. The pictures on the walls, consisting of family portraits, relieved here and there by a gem of a medallion, or small pictures of a religious or devotional kind, indicated by their finish, the delicate touch and taste of a master, and by their costumes and marked evidences of high bearing, the ancient and honorable descent of the family which they were meant to typify. These pictures were the portraits of "knights and high dames," extending in lineage back to the wars of the Fronde, when the cradle of the infant "Grand Monarque" was guarded by the jealous eye and adroit hand of the ever-vigilant Italian prelate and minister, Mazarin.

The lord of this cottage,—if from its contrast to the meanness of the surrounding edifices, it might not be esteemed rather a palace in little, though then well stricken in years—had that in his appearance, in his noble and reverend mien and port which indicated clearly that he was no unworthy living representative and descendant of the worthies whose gallery of portraits made the walls of the cottage an animate tableau of posthumous life and glory. While his attitude and bearing were martial, they were martial after the manner of the camp and court combined, and were a mingled expression of authority, political and military, which softened and rendered graceful rather than diminished the usual sternness of military manners. He was a type, if we may say so, of a school of manners peculiar to the continent of Europe, particularly of the olden time, when *chevalier* and *gentilhomme* meant the same, or the soldier of rank embodied in himself the stern dignity of the camp and the graceful loyalty of the court. The expression of his countenance was blended rather than single. It had the grave *hauteur* of the Spanish physiognomy, relieved by the facile and expressive quickness or susceptibility of the French, as shadow is relieved by sunlight. Though advanced in life, there was, when one beheld him, a conscious or expectant presentiment in the beholder of the starting into life of a power that did but slumber, like a fire whose lambency, but not fierceness, is subdued or held in check by an apparent or superficial covering of ashes. His name, Rodrigue Du Plessis—a name suggestive of the days of Henri Quatre—indicates that he was French, but he was only paternally French, being by his mother Spanish, that is in descent, for personally he was a Creole, or native of a province or colony, having been born in Louisiana during its subjection to France, prior to its cession to Spain in 1769, by the terms of the Treaty of Fontainebleau in 1762. He was the last Spanish Governor of Arbre Rouge, meaning, by Governor of Arbre Rouge, the military and civil Governor of the country claimed by Spain as a part of West Florida, extending from Iberville river, or the Bayou Manshac on the south, to Ellicott's line, or latitude thirty-one on the

north, and from the Mississippi river on the west to Pearl river on the east.

It is known to the reader—familiar with the public despatches and Senatorial debates upon the boundaries of Louisiana, growing out of a difference of interpretation between Spain and the United States, of the treaty of cession or treaty of Paris—that this district of country remained in the possession of Spain many years after Isle d'Orleans or the country extending from the Manchac to the Balize, east of the Mississippi, had been occupied by the United States: and that it was not formally ceded by Spain till 1819, when the whole of Florida was sold to the United States by treaty, signed on behalf of the two Governments by Don Onís and Mr. Adams. It may not be known, however, to the general reader that the actual possession of this country passed nine years earlier into the hands of the United States, by means of a revolution, consisting in an armed capture of the fort at Arbre Rouge and the adoption of a formal declaration of independence of Spain. The Governor, at the time of the attack—19th September, 1810—had his headquarters at the little cottage, since occupied by General Taylor, little dreaming, perhaps, of a change of dynasties, when two bands of armed invaders, one under a Captain Dessassau, and the other under a Captain Thomas, rushed into the fort by different gates and demanded its surrender. After a brief resistance, in which Col. De Grandpre, his adjutant or second in command, was killed, in view of the insufficiency of his force, which amounted only to about ninety-five men, to make any effectual defence, he surrendered both the fort and the town, and with them his command, holding a position entirely isolated, without a possibility of succor, and yielding only to the power of superior numbers, he felt that he had done all that a gentleman could do, and retired gracefully among the remnant of his subjects to enjoy a respect more loyal and genuine in private than he had done possibly amidst the more respectable or honorable privileges and responsibilities of command. Madame Du Plessis, though like her husband, grown old, had that youthfulness of appearance ever characteristic of a French woman even at periods of life the most advanced; the result of a commendable attention to Hygeian, and a pardonable application of art, which, however they may be criticised or ridiculed by persons of anti-Gallican antipathies, are more potent in renewing youth, or, what is nearly the same, depriving age of its terrors by suppressing the evidences of its consciousness, than immersing in fabled fountains, or imbibing elysian elixirs, or a scrupulous observance of imaginary or *soi disant* laws of nature. Madame D. was, in manners and appearance, a picture of a well-bred woman, who seemed to know too well what became her to be otherwise in misfortune than what she had been in power or prosperity. Trouble only purifies and exalts

a genuine character—a character at once combining gentility of birth and grace of spirit; and if the late reverses through which she had passed had produced any perceptible change in the character of Madame D., it was to render her inherent graces of character only more apparent. In addition to a high degree of conventional elegance of manner, she had the true elegance of amiability without condescension, and dignity without its consciousness. Of an offspring somewhat numerous, one only child remained to comfort and console the age of the venerable couple, a daughter, whose name was Adele, and who, at the time of which we write, was in her nineteenth year of age, that interesting, sweet age in the life of a girl, when the conscious knowledge of womanhood, supervening on the innocence of youth, begets that charming *naïveté* of expression which language is too feeble to describe and the poetic heart only can feel. She was a *brunette*; and, though it contradicts the usual theory of romance writers, whose ideals are *blondes*, she may be said to have been pretty. Her height was what the height of a woman should ever be to be womanly, a just compromise between extremes, a height which will render the figure neither *petite* nor masculine. Her figure had a graceful rotundity in exact accordance with the height; while her foot and hand had in each that beautiful conformation which marks the grace of proportion. Her face was a face not often seen, but when seen captivates the beholder. It was not a face which simply “wins as it wanders, and dazzles when it dwells,” but captivates as surely as it fascinates. And what, we may ask, was the charm? It was the harmony of expression and feature, the outward lineaments, in accordance with the inward graces of the soul; the face, indeed, if we may be allowed the expression, the photograph of the spirit. It was intellectual, and yet it was spiritual; not too intellectual—for a woman’s face to be consistent with the law of harmony should never be too intellectual—but intellectual in the proportion that it was spiritual. Intellect and heart seemed to know the exact boundaries of their prerogatives. They did not seem to invade, but by a kindly alliance react upon each other. What the one borrowed the other repaid. While one enlightened, the other softened. If there was subordination in either, it was the subordination of the intellect to the holier impulses and aspirations of a spirit attuned into harmony of purity and truth and beauty by daily communing with the spirits and images of the holy author and blessed exemplars of a holy faith in bliss, for her face seemed radiant with the heaven-colored images traced by heaven’s own reflected light on the countenance of wrapt devotion. To reproduce the colors of the rainbow, or transfer the bright but mild radiance of the evening star, were an easy task compared with the task of even outlining a face at once so holy and so bright—so holy in love, so bright with thought. Though it

dwells in memory after the lapse of years with an individuality as distinct as though but yesterday seen, we shall not attempt to reproduce it, but leave each reader to do it for himself.

Though usual with families of the Roman Catholic persuasion to educate their daughters in a convent, or house combining at the same time the advantages of religious and general education, Mademoiselle Du Plessis had possessed no such advantage, if to be educated from home is ever an advantage to a lady. Her parents, with the occasional assistance of the good curé of the parish, had given her the only education which she possessed. The words of instruction had come to her laden with love, and what the intellect lost in knowledge, the heart had more than gained in truth. In possession of two vernacular or parent languages, French and Spanish, she added a fluent use of a third—the English—not then common to Creoles even of wealth. She had it from her father and mother, who both spoke it with an accent which showed it the acquisition of mature life, but an accent neither broad nor inelegant. Her taste in literature, though pure, had not been extensively cultivated, for thorough or critical cultivation comes only with age, and her youth precluded the idea. It had been judiciously directed by her parents, in conjunction with the priest, a man of good acquirements in secular learning, particularly for a priest, and promised to bring forth fruit in after years. She had not seen enough of the world to have had her manners fashioned after any conventional model or standard; but she had had, in her own home, good living models, and a heart, that best of instructors, to profit by them. There was in her manners a grace more maidenly than womanly, the prevalence of timidity over self-command, but dignity enough combined with tact to counteract any morbid or undue tendency to bashfulness or embarrassment. Though generally serious in intercourse, she was not without a certain refined archness or coquetry, which is never entirely absent from the manners or character of a woman who combines the advantages of youth, beauty, cleverness and good breeding. We know we shall be suspected, in these days of cosmopolitan travel, of having overdrawn the picture of our heroine, when we state the fact that Mademoiselle Du Plessis had not, since childhood, been away from Arbre Rouge, not even so far as the city, as New Orleans is called, *par eminence*, by the Creoles, as Rome is by the Italians, and Paris by Frenchmen. The most she had seen of mankind had been in the parish church of St. Joseph, and the most she had known of them had been from her intercourse with a few families of the village. Such was the city of Arbre Rouge, and such some of its inhabitants, on the first day of November, or All Saints Day, in the year of grace, 1817.

CHAPTER II.

IN WHICH THERE IS SOME ACCOUNT OF THE ANCIENT FEAST OF ALL SAINTS OR ALL SOULS, AND HOW OBSERVED IN ARBRE ROUGE, AND WHAT OCCURRED THEREON.

The religious feast of All Saints or All Souls, is said by those familiar with liturgical antiquities, to be an appointment of no great age in the Church. It is said that about the year of Christ 610, the heathen Pantheon, or the temple dedicated to all the Gods recognized in the old Roman mythological calendar, was taken at the desire of Boniface IV, Bishop of Rome, from the service of the heathen worship by the Emperor Phocas, and dedicated to the honor of All Martyrs, and a day set apart for the commemoration of their virtues and to holy communion with their spirit. This was the beginning of the Feast of All Saints, the day of its observance being first fixed on the first day of May, but was changed some two centuries afterwards, A. D. 834, to the first day of November, where it has remained ever since. It is a day recognized by both the Roman and Anglican Churches, and substantially for the same purpose, to wit: the recognition of the doctrine of the Communion of Saints, a doctrine deemed fundamental by both Churches, as may be proved by their adoption of the most ancient of the creeds, of which it forms an essential article. It is thought the Roman Catholic Church has gone farther than the Anglican, not only in the liturgical, but in the doctrinal importance with which she has invested the day and the subject of its commemoration; but we apprehend the difference between them in their observance of the day is only the normal difference between the Churches themselves, or the difference between fact and theory, between practice and principle. It is known that both Churches recognize the knitting together, in one communion and fellowship, *all* God's elect in the mystical body of Christ; and that the Anglican only qualifiedly discountenances, in her Articles, the Invocation of Saints, and has nowhere formally discarded Prayers for the Dead: while there are those, and of her communion too, who are free to say that the inference of her ecclesiastical toleration of the practice of praying for the dead in the "Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church militant," and in the prayer last but one in her Burial Service, is so strong as to require the use of some hermeneutical ingenuity to evade.

The adoption by the Church of the service in question, and her requirement of its formal liturgical observance, we think the most conclusive interpretation of her opinion of the doctrine of the "Communion of Saints," and that the difference between the English and Roman Churches upon the point in question, is not so much a difference of doctrine as the difference of practice; the one viewing the communion of saints as a question

purely speculative or didactic, and the other as a fact which should not alone engage our thoughts, but our feelings and sympathies as well. The difference, as observed before, is the organic difference between the Churches themselves; the catholicity of the Anglican being purely intellectual, or having only a mental existence, and susceptible of no higher expression than one simply intellectual; while the catholicity of the Roman is to him at least a fact which should engage the senses, feelings and imaginations, no less than the intellect in giving it all the tangibility of a form, and all the vitality of a reality. In the services of the Roman Catholic Church on the Feast of All Saints, there is given full expression to the Church's conception of the communion of saints. The living seem to be in actual communion with the departed in Christ, whether canonized saints or familiar friends just gone. On the morning of the day the bells seem to toll an actual knell, the organs seem to peal an actual dirge. The churches are thrown open for the due celebration of high mass for the living and the dead, and thither, from feelings of affection, as a higher spirit of devotion, the children of the Church repair with longing and subdued hearts to pray with those who have an existence as fresh and as actual to faith as though they had not entered the tomb's gloomy isolation, but still mingled with them around the family hearth in every-day association. From thence, with hearts and consciences cleansed by priestly absolution and benediction, they repair to the contiguous churchyard, with burning lights and freshly-blown flowers, and other emblems of eternal faith and hope, to spend a holiday or a day of social reunion with the dead. Let those who choose condemn its aspects of crude superstition, but for ourself, Protestant as we are, we have ever found it an impressive and profitable pageant; and never have we visited, upon the day in question, a Catholic necropolis without having our faith strengthened in the great doctrine of an eternal reunion of souls beyond the grave. The doctrine on which the observance is based may be erroneous; we are not discussing the point of its error or truth; there may mingle in the religious solemnities of the festival vanity, pride, curiosity, and other passions and emotions not sanctioned by religion, as from what scene of earthly association are they excluded; we can only speak of its impression upon ourself, and record an experience simply personal, when we say that we have never returned to our home from an evening spent among these associations of the living and the dead without feeling that we have penetrated farther than before into the mystic shadows which overhang "that country from whose bourne no (human) traveller returns," without feeling that Protestantism, with all its boasted luminousness of faith, shrunk in repugnance from communion with its dead; that like Abraham when he purchased of Heth the cave in the field of Macphelah, its

leading desire is to cut off as quickly as possible all association or communion with its dead, *by burying them out of their sight.*

But to return from an episode necessary to explain some of the incidents of the chapter. The morning of All Saints Day, 1817, at Arbre Rouge, had been ushered in with all the usual displays of feeling or enthusiasm incident to its appropriate observance. Fresh flowers and *immortelles* had been gathered, the finest wax candles had been obtained, the finest and most fitting garments had been donned, and every other arrangement demanded of the population by the day made, when, as the bell was being tolled from the tower of St. Joseph's, and the people of the village, particularly the female portion of it, were moving from every direction toward the church, a well-dressed traveller arrived at Arbre Rouge, a circumstance not at all unusual now, especially when the Legislature of the State is in session, but in that day was an event so unusual as to be noted by the inhabitants and chronicled in their annals. The arrival was from New Orleans, not, however, by steamboat, as the usual appliance of water travel or communication in the West is called, to distinguish it, we suppose, from the *low pressure* or sea-going craft.

It may be needless to tell the reader that on that river and its tributaries, when as far back as 1843, there floated, according to the report of the late Mr. Barrow, Chairman of the Committee on Commerce in the United States Senate, five hundred steamers, and of course many more now, there exists almost hourly opportunities of transition from point to point; and that any other mode of travel or transit is now as unusual as in 1817 travel by steamboat was extraordinary. In that year a man could not, any evening in the week, go upon a steamboat lying in New Orleans and go to bed with the comfortable or uncomfortable expectation of being ashore at Arbre Rouge before daylight next morning, for the reasons that the boats to furnish facilities of such frequent travel did not exist, and that those which did exist made no such time when opposed to the current of the Mississippi. This will be more apparent when it is known that, in that year, there were but ten steamboats in all built on the Western waters, and the trip from New Orleans to Cincinnati, in twenty-five days, was celebrated with public rejoicings. It is more than likely, if our traveller was living now, and felt called on to make the trip from New Orleans to Arbre Rouge, he would consult both pleasure and speed in taking a steamboat; but it is not less likely that making the journey then, he consulted alike his interest and pleasure in making it by land. And the arrival was by land.

Every one acquainted with that beautiful region skirting the banks of the Mississippi, called the *coast*, knows that between the *levee*, or artificial embankment thrown up on the river's margin to keep out the water during the prevalence of periodi-

cal *freshets*, and the estates on the river, there is a road, or, more properly, a street, extending along the entire length of the coast on either bank of the river. We cannot conceive of a drive in every way as pleasant as that along the road from New Orleans to Arbre Rouge, and will say that our traveller in taking it, was justified by taste, even though impelled by necessity. It was along this road that he had come from New Orleans, by easy stages, in a gig, a high-hung, two-wheeled vehicle, drawn by one horse, which has long since given place to a more fashionable four-wheeled substitute, and is now rarely seen except in the possession of a few old time people. Having arrived the evening previous at Hopeton Estate, a few miles below town, introduced to its hospitable proprietor, Colonel Heartall, than whom, we will venture to say, no finer specimen of a country gentleman ever lived, he had taken a bed there, and driven in next morning. Driving up to the door, or rather façade, of a rude hostelry, situated near the corner of the levee and the main street of the town, long since swept away by fire or flood, he was received by a little French landlord, whose observable apparel was a long white apron and brown paper cap, with a low bow, and question in French:

"What is Monsieur's pleasure?"

"Horse stabled and a chamber for myself."

"Will Monsieur tarry long?"

"That will depend on the time it may take to transact my business."

"No business for Monsieur to-day. It is All Saints day."

"I am to understand, then, that it's a holiday."

"Monsieur comprehends. Would Monsieur go to mass?"

"I will first go to my room."

"Monsieur shall be obeyed."

Handing over the vehicle to a little, red-eyed negro servant, of the color called *griff* in Creole dialect, which means, we believe, brown or reddish rather than yellow, with bushy hair, a maximum altitude of four feet and a half in stature, and otherwise small—his size being the result, we suppose, of topical influences, as is said of the Shetland horses—our landlord, with the politeness which ever marks the Frenchman of all situations, conducted his guest to his room. The Frenchman, while an admirable *restaurateur*, is a very poor innkeeper—for the reason, perhaps, that, while he is the best cook in the world, his language has no synonymes for the English words *comfort* and *home*. The guest looked round the chamber, but found little in it to promise comfort. The *linen* of the bed was clean, and he consoled himself for the absence of other luxuries by the value of this, and the reflection that his sojourn would not be long. While dressing himself, which he did with care but without display, it recurred to his natural sense of propriety that no one could be seen on business on a day of such suggest-

ive souvenirs, apart from its religious associations; he, therefore, determined to make one of the congregation at church, and when the service was over amuse himself as best he might in strolling over the village and inspecting its lions. Descending to the public room, he asked to be shown the church, and was turned over by Monsieur Fricandean to *Theophile*, the *petit* man of all work, as a cicerone. The strange appearance of the little guide attracted the attention of the stranger, and its contrast with his own appearance as they promenaded together the narrow streets of the village was so great as to beget within him a sense of amusement somewhat in proportion to the oddness of the picture; nor was the little cicerone himself without a certain sense of mental enjoyment, derived from the feeling of conscious importance at acting in the distinguished and honorable capacity of guide to a fine looking stranger in view of his acquaintances. It is a fact hardly worth noting, but a fact, nevertheless, that the inhabitant of a provincial town never chaproned a distinguished or fine looking stranger through the streets without feeling within him a sense of growing importance, approximating to the importance or conceived importance of the stranger, as Major Pendennis is said, by Thackeray, to have swelled into the dimensions of a Duke when upon any occasion of his being met by one of that exclusive class in the park or elsewhere, the latter would offer him one finger, with the salutation, "How do Pendennis?" *Theophile* was no exception to the rule, or rather he had within him enough of humanity to be within it, and, therefore, pulled up his shoulders, threw his head proudly back, stepped high, gave to his face an expression of conscious importance, and passed his acquaintances without a nod of recognition, or only bestowed on them the passing patronage of a stare or bow.

There is a strange sympathy in contrasts, a mysterious affinity between extremes, the principle of which none can explain. What was amusement in the stranger's mind at first became interest as he contemplated, not simply the assiduity of the boy, but his appearance, unique as it was. There seemed to spring up in his mind a kindly sympathy: an embryo affection somewhat in proportion to the pride exhibited by the boy in the service which he was rendering; there was being felt a sense of protection toward him somewhat in proportion to what he imagined would be the fellow's faithfulness if attached to his person as a servant. These reflections were cut short by their arrival at the church, situated some three or four squares back of the river. Having enquired of the servant his name, and bestowed on him a gratuity, with the remark that he could find his way back without him, he entered the church. St. Joseph's Church, the parish church of the civil parish of east Arbre Rouge, was, at the time of which we write, nothing remarkable in the way of an edifice. It was a long, low build-

ing of brick, with poor looking windows and without porch or transept. It was all *nave*, if that may be called nave which was merely a long room traversed from the doors to the chancel or altar by two narrow aisles. A more imposing appearance was attempted to be imparted to it by building in front of it a huge tower a few years later; but by being out of all kinds of proportion with the church, it served but to increase the deformity. Within there was nothing more attractive than without. The pews seemed a collection of boxes, painted with Spanish brown, diversified with chrome yellow or green. The paintings about the altar, except a clever copy of a Madonna of one of the Spanish masters, were daubs rather than works of art, while the other ornaments, except a cross, which was of silver, were either of wood or lacquered metal. It may be said, as an apology, that this being the first parish of the highlands or hills above the coast, was sparsely settled, and, therefore, poor. Since the time of which we write, the whole fabric, we learn, has been replaced by a costly and not inelegant edifice. When the stranger entered the church, as plain as we have described it to be, the *coup d'œil* may not have been so imposing as that which met the eye of Osbaldistone, when he entered the Barony Laigh Kirk of Glasgow, as the crypt of the Cathedral of St. Mungo was called by the inhabitants of the "gude town," and witnessed the Presbyterian worship for the first time, not so "grand," possibly, and certainly not so "gloomy," but in every sense as "peculiar." The chancel, with its paintings and mystic symbols of faith and devotion; the candles giving out that mystic and sepulchral light, the joint effect of its association with the dead and contrast with the more luminous rays of the sun; the officiating priests and their assistants chanting in low and wailing tones the mortuary services peculiar to the day; the shadowy smoke of the incense floating through the air of the chapel; the different attitudes and costumes of the worshippers, with their different degrees or expressions of devotion; the wandering thoughtlessness of the more innocent, with the wrapt abstraction of the more penitent; the different nations and castes represented; the lively and ruddy Hibernian contrasted with the grave and swarthy Spaniard; the witty, quick-eyed Frenchman with the pale, serious-looking American; the ungainly and coarsely-habited African with the pretty Creole in her white veil; and voluptuous *quatroone*, in her colored turban, with here and there the brilliant uniform of an American officer from the garrison, and the wild dress of a Choctaw warrior, as he stood partially revealed at door or window, looking on more in curiosity than awe at the weird and mystic ceremonies solemnized within; made up a panorama that Scott himself might have looked on with interest, and which did not fail to impress the poetic eye and heart of our stranger.

The service being advanced in its celebration when he arrived, was soon closed by the dismissal of the congregation with the usual priestly benediction. While a few remained in the church, in different postures, before different objects of devotion, and some of the less devout went to their homes, most of the congregation betook themselves to the neighboring churchyard or cemetery. Our stranger, in order the better to individualize the promiscuous mass assembled in the church, remained in his position until all had departed save the few spoken of above. So absorbed had been his gaze—not the gaze of impertinent curiosity so often witnessed in our American churches, but of respectful and intelligent interest—that he had not remarked his isolation, more protracted than he thought, until looking around he discovered himself almost alone in the church. The officiating priests had closed their solitary devotions, and were casting at him furtive but curious glances while in the act of disappearing through the door of the sacristy, when, in turning himself to leave, his eye caught the image of a young lady, kneeling before the picture of the Virgin, in an attitude and with an expression of devotion the most wrapt. He could not but look, for his senses and intellect were both enchained, if not spell-bound, by the object; and if, in his rapture, he thought at all, it was whether most to admire the exquisite elegance of the figure or the heavenly beauty of the face. It seemed less a vision of earth than one which he had imagined or, possibly, dreamed of. It was but a moment that he lingered, thinking it profanity to look upon one so pure and lovely at such a time and place. He abruptly, but noiselessly, left the church. There being no object of special interest in the village, beyond the old Spanish fortress mentioned in the first chapter, he betook himself thither, being guided by the Stars and Stripes now floating over it. After lingering some time about the garrison in a state half of abstraction and half of attention to the novel objects around him, he returned to his hotel, to receive the felicitations of Monsieur Fricandean, and the assiduities of Theophile: these professional proclivities having received a considerable augmentation to their usual or habitual floridness of *impressment* during his absence, owing to an increase of the guest's importance in their mental estimation by a call from Colonel Heartall, and two or three officers from the garrison, after service, and who, failing to find him in, had left their cards. The influence of their visit on the host was witnessed in the display of marked attention at dinner, and upon Theophile in overacted assiduity in serving him. The dinner was served in a long room in the rear of the general reception room, or what would be now called the office, which, instead of the *table d'hôte*, usual in American hotels or taverns, if the long, narrow tables usually seen in country inns may be thus dignified, was furnished in the style universal

in *restaurants*, with a number of small tables, each covered with a fair linen cloth, and supplied with a nicely folded napkin, salt cellar, a bottle of water and tumbler, a bottle of *vin Bordelais*, and a half loaf of the nicest twist bread, in the manufacture of which the French and their descendants have a special, if not exclusive eminence. When seated at one of the tables, a bill of fare was handed to him by the landlord, and he proceeded to select therefrom such dishes as suited his taste or were most in season—it being now understood, that is, since the days of Mrs. Ratcliff and Monk Lewis, that heroes of romance, being persons of flesh and blood like more common-place specimens of humanity, are fully privileged to indulge a natural human appetite for food and drink. Passing by mutton from its commonness, not from its want of delicacy, for what mutton can surpass in delicacy of flavor the famous coast mutton of Louisiana? and not permitted to select *becasse* or woodcock, that delightful *souvenir* of a *gourmet's* sojourn or residence on the Delta, because not then in season, wild duck and venison became the objects of his choice, they being then in season and always a delicacy, which, with an *entrée* or so, and a few seasonable vegetables, washed down by the wine, made up a very passable dinner.

While sitting after dinner, sipping his *café noir* and smoking his segar, with that *dolce farniente* which repletion ever begets in the cultivated man, the stranger's mind recurred to the vision of the chapel; and while it might be premature to venture the opinion that he was in love with the fair unknown, it will not be thought absurd in us to affirm that a feeling of interest had been awakened in his breast akin to intensity, by the beauty of the devotee, heightened, as it ever is, by the mystery which shrouded her name and identity. How long his reveries would have continued is uncertain, had not the appearance of the landlord cut them off by bringing his mind back to the more commonplace subjects of life.

"Did Monsieur call?"

"No."

"Will Monsieur have lights?"

"No."

"Will Monsieur visit the cemetery and see the *spectacle*?"

Catching at a proposition so german to his thoughts, he answered "yes," and they immediately set out. Arriving at the cemetery, they found it brilliantly illuminated with candles arranged on almost every tomb, and thronged with people of all ages, sexes and colors. With most of them it seemed to be regarded rather as a reunion between the living than between the living and the dead. Many, however, were the groups gathered around the tombs, apparently in silent and solemn communion with the spirits of the departed. The aspect of the tombs, built above ground, as is usual in Louisiana, particu-

larly on the Delta proper—in consequence of the invasion of what is called in the country *transpiration* water, or water diffused through the soil from the Mississippi, rendering underground interments frequently impossible and always unpleasant—gave additional picturesqueness to the scene. The tombs having all been newly cleansed and garnished, and decorated with vases of flowers and *immortelles*, the cemetery had more the appearance of a *conservatoire* or *parterre* than a charnel house. The evening had waned, the numerous throngs had been disappearing in single groups until few were left, but our stranger still lingered, half fascinated with a scene so novel and so lovely, and half wrapt in that state of melancholy meditation so natural to persons of poetical temperament, or possibly with a half-formed hope of seeing again the lady so lately the subject of his thoughts. Crossing one of the little walks or alleys which intersected the main thoroughfare of the churchyard, he saw in the latter a venerable couple, attended by a servant seemingly as venerable as themselves, apparently in waiting for some one. Following with his eyes the direction which theirs seemed to take, he discovered a figure kneeling before a neat and handsome urn, in which he thought he recognized the one which he had all the evening been unconsciously seeking. The back being to him, he could not at first be certain, but his doubts were soon resolved by the person slowly rising and rejoining the aged couple, the *contour* which he saw, as also the *tournure* of the form convincing him that she could be no other. He lingered for a moment until they were out of sight, approached the tomb, which he had marked with his eye, and saw inscribed on it the name of Du Plessis. It was the name of the person to whom he had brought a letter, and to whom he was referred for a consultation on the business which was the occasion of his visit to Arbre Rouge. Upon arriving at his lodgings he enclosed his note of introduction and card in a note from himself to Monsieur Du Plessis, and gave them into the hands of his landlord, with instructions to deliver them in the morning. While at breakfast next day, he received a card from M. Du Plessis, enclosed in a note, saying, that in consequence of the fatigues of the previous day, he would be unable to call on him at his hotel, but would be glad to see him in the evening at his own house. The note was addressed to William Hamilton, Esq. We will communicate in the next chapter who Mr. William Hamilton was.

ART. VI.—SEA-COAST DEFENCES.

UPON the subject of Sea-coast defences there is a work by Major J. G. Bernard, of the United States Engineers. He tells us that Great Britain, notwithstanding her immense naval ar-

mament, has awoke to the importance of fortifications which it has been fashionable previously to deride. Fifty millions of dollars have been appropriated for coast defences. A similar prejudice against such defences prevailed with one of our own naval men. Commodore Perry said in 1851 :

"Of all the coasts of Europe, that of Great Britain is the least provided with fortifications, and yet her soil has not been trodden by a successful enemy since the Conquest; solely protecting her military and naval arsenals by perfect and well-garrisoned works. She depends mainly for defence of her coast upon her navy and the warlike spirit of her yeomanry; and the very absence of fortified works prevents a deceitful reliance upon such defences and keeps alive the more gallant and more certain dependence upon their own personal prowess."

A recent British Commission, having the whole subject under consideration, reported as follows :

"Neither our fleet, our standing army nor our volunteer forces, nor even the three combined, can be relied upon for the security of the kingdom against invasion. * * * * *

"Without fortifications there is no mode of defence which would give the same amount of security to the country and, at the same time, be so economical in money and troops."

Major Bernard conceives that Great Britain's reliance in the past upon her navy resulted from the fact that the wars of the French Revolution had annihilated all other navies; and that, in the days of sailing vessels, the French coasts could be watched or, with ease, blockaded. All of this is now changed.

To show the inadequacy of the navy to prevent invasion, a case is cited. In 1796, the expedition of Hoche reached Ireland and was three days in landing twenty-five thousand men. Three powerful fleets were on the lookout for the expedition and yet it passed unnoticed, and of forty-four vessels only one was intercepted.

England, however, has not, as is supposed, been indifferent to the value of fortifications. Plymouth, Portsmouth, Dover and other great ports evince this. They have been protected seaward and landward from the beginning of the seventeenth century, and a continuous range of Martello towers overlook the waters of the channel.

Guns of the largest calibre are those which are best adapted for sea-coast defences. The smashing effect of their balls do vastly more mischief than the mere perforations of smaller guns. The 24, 32 and almost the 42-pounders have given way to 8 and 10-inch columbiads capable of using shot or shell. These, if well arrayed, it is believed no fleet or floating battery can ever be made to pass. Major Bernard says, p. 48 :

"It is perfectly certain that hereafter it is not with ordinary fleets of wooden ships that sea-coast batteries must contend. Such fleets may, indeed, attempt, for ulterior objects, to pass rapidly by such batteries, but if the object is their reduction, as was the case at Algiers, at Vera Cruz, at Sevastopol, at Cronstadt, threatened but not attempted, the attack will not

be made by "Agamemnons," "Arethusas" and "Albions," wooden coffins, filled with sailors, to be burnt up or blown up by modern incendiary and explosive missiles, as was the Turkish fleet at Sinope in fifteen minutes, but with vessels especially designed for the purpose, viz: the bomb vessel and the iron-clad floating battery, and, probably, iron-clad ships of war."

The iron-clad floating battery which was used against Fort Sumter was of the same character as those which the Allies in the Russian war used against Kinburn. One of them was struck sixty-three times at eight hundred yards, and with 32-pound shot, without injury. What the effect would have been with 68-pounders (10-inch columbiads) is not known.

The opinion in England is divided on the question of iron vessels of war. Sir H. Davis, in his work on gunnery, says that iron vessels are and will be found unfit for all purposes of war, and that no ship can be constructed to resist 68-pounders and the new rifled guns. Military writers in "Blackwood," on the other hand, consider that wooden walls will have to give way to something which can withstand the fearful missiles which modern science has invented.

Ships of war, clad with 4½-inch iron plates, are, by experiment, proved to be invulnerable against any known projectiles at distances beyond two hundred yards. The French Emperor has begun the construction of such ships, in which he is imitated by the English. A new principle has been introduced in England which greatly adds to the degree of invulnerability—that of inclining the iron-clad sides inwardly to an angle with the horizon of 35° or 40°, by which arrangement shot will glance off with little injury to the side. This was tested with great success by the Stevens' iron battery when resisting the guns of Fort Sumter.

The rifled cannon is not a formidable projectile against iron-clad ships. It is not adapted to large calibres, the advantages of the rifle bore diminishing with the calibre. The largest Armstrong gun in use has but 7-inch calibre. Whitworth's celebrated gun, for projecting bolts of iron, has but a calibre of 3 inches. Our fortifications, to be effective, *must be capable of projecting masses of large diameter with moderate velocity.* These only are sufficiently destructive. These only can be used with effect against the inclined-side ships, whether of wood or iron. The 15-inch gun at Fortress Monroe is a gun of the proper calibre, and ordnance officers think that even a 20-inch gun might be made and efficiently worked. The Fortress Monroe gun is nearly fifteen feet in length, and weighs forty-nine thousand one hundred pounds. It was constructed at Pittsburg, under direction of Captain Rodman, U. S. A. Its average charge of powder is thirty-five pounds, and weight of shell three hundred and thirty-five pounds. It is a grim monster of death and destruction.

ART. VII.—THE PATH OF DISUNION—TO THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH.

[The pages which follow are taken from the great speech which the Honorable Beverly Tucker, one of Virginia's ablest and most patriotic sons, made in the Nashville Convention nearly twelve years ago. They admirably sketch the future of the Confederacies or Governments to the North and the South, which shall spring from disunion. Let our readers never doubt that what is here, but *prophecy* will, to coming generations, be veritable HISTORY.]—Ed.

AND now, sir, let us look at the dangers which are to attend disunion. Let us suppose a case, and consider the influence which will be brought to bear on those on whom the peace of this continent will depend. Let us suppose but five States—the States of Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama and Mississippi, to withdraw from the Union and form a Southern Confederacy. Their policy would be clearly pacific. What would be the policy of the rest of the world? Would the manufacturing States wish to rush into a war which, while it lasted, would shut them out from the best market in the world? Would the shipping and commercial States wish to rush into a war which would throw the carriage of our rich and bulky productions into the hands of Europe, until our own commercial marine should have become adequate to our wants? I say nothing of the fatal consequences which would attend the loss of a supply of cotton to the spindles and looms of New England, because, although war should prevail, the laws of trade will be sure to carry the needed supply to the place of demand. This, indeed, must be of a circuitous route, and at an enormous expense. But on this I lay no stress. It would, indeed, prevent the Yankee from hoping to compete with the English manufacturer in markets opened to both, while war would shut him out from this the chief and best market.

"And how long would such a war last?" asked Mr. Webster, with a scornful scowl. "How long would it be before the fleets and armies of the North would sweep the coasts, and blockade the ports, and overrun and desolate the territory of the South, and turn the knives of the slaves against their master's throats?" How long? Sir, such a war will never be waged until Massachusetts shall have lost her senses, and be prepared to rush on self-destruction. Whence, but from the Southern States, comes the cotton that keeps in activity the spindles and looms of the North? Sir, the North would not dare to prosecute war with such activity as even to *diminish* the supply. Obtaining it, as she must do, from neutral ports, the North could only get what was left after supplying the demand of other countries, and any essential diminution would leave her nothing. But a war of desolation! Why, sir, such a war would react upon the North like the bursting of a cannon in a crowded ship—working ten times more mischief there than on the

enemy. Do, gentlemen, consider the nature of great manufacturing establishments, kept in operation by what they call *free labor*—the labor of those whose daily bread is the purchase of daily toil, and who, left without employment for a week, must starve, or beg, or rob. The mind of man has not conceived the wretchedness which the failure of one cotton crop would produce. Universal bankruptcy—universal ruin—the prostration of the wealthy, and the uprising of the suffering mass, violently snatching from their beggared employers a portion of the scanty remnant of former abundance to satisfy the wants of nature. Sir, when the overwhelming force of France threatened to invade and subjugate Holland, the Dutch cut their dykes and let in the ocean—the enemy withdrew, and all thought of again invading the soil of a people capable of defending their liberty by such sacrifices was abandoned forever. Here was a self-inflicted suffering which did but warn the enemy without wounding him. But what if the people of the Southern States, goaded by insult and wrong, should determine on a much less sacrifice? What if, with one accord, they should agree to make no cotton for a single season, except for their own factories, and apply all their labor to laying up a store of grain for another year? The South could bear it, sir. It would incommode many. It would enrich some. It would ruin nobody here. And what would be the effect elsewhere? The mind of man cannot calculate it. The imagination of man cannot conceive it. *Horresco referens*. An earthquake shaking the continent from the Potomac to the Lakes, swallowing up the British Isles, and overturning all that revolution has left standing in France and Germany, would be hardly more destructive. Sir, the pillars of the world would be shaken; and here stands the South grasping them in her strong arm. Here she stands like old blind Sampson, fit to make sport for these Philistines who mock her degradation. Will she not make her prayer to God, and bow herself in her might, not, like him, to die with the Philistines, but to overwhelm them and stand unhurt amid the ruins? No, she will not. But this is always in her power; and this she will do, if ever her loathing detestation and scorn of her oppressors equals in acrimony and malignity their fierce philanthropy and insidious friendship.

Something like this would be the consequence to the North of any war with the South. Worse, if possible, than this, would be the consequence of a war of desolation and emancipation. In that case the mischief would not be confined to the North. It would overspread the civilized world in aggravated horror. In New England we can calculate it. The seven hundred millions of which the South has been robbed by the unequal operation of the Federal Government has been realized, as they call it. It has been built into ships and factories; it has been paid out for barren lands at high prices, only justifi-

fied by these establishments; it has been built into palaces, where merchant princes and manufacturers dwell in marble halls. There are no other objects of investment, and the boasted heaped-up wealth of New England is just that—no more. Now, take away the cotton and commerce of the South, and what do you see? The ships lie rotting at the wharves; the factories tumble into ruins; and skulking in corners of their marble palaces, the merchant princes, like those of Venice, live meagerly on contributions levied on the curiosity of travellers. As to the laboring classes, the far West is open to them. What violence and rapine they may practice for a while, under the teachings of Communism, Fourierism, Agrarianism, and other isms of the family of Abolitionism, it is not possible to say. But they will soon see that Communism is of little worth where there is nothing to divide, and that what they call the rights of labor cannot be enforced against those who have nothing to pay. They will be off to the West, sir, there to found a new Ohio on the banks of Wisconsin and Minnesota. And Boston—? Look at Venice, sir. The history of Boston is so far the history of Venice. Venice enriched herself by the oppression and plunder of her subject provinces. Boston has done the same. Venice concentrated her ill-gotten wealth on the marshes of the Adriatic. Boston has heaped up hers upon a barren rock. The poisoned chalice has been commended to the lips of Venice, and she has in turn become the victim of misgovernment, while the trade of the world has found other channels—and behold she is a wilderness of marble in a waste of waters. Even such would be the mischiefs which Boston would pull down upon herself by the suicidal step of warring against the South.

But look across the Atlantic, and suppose the madness and malignity of the North to hurry them into a desolating war against the cotton-growing States. Other countries have more various resources than New England, and might have something to fall back on. England, for example, insular as she is, has land. But England has a superabundant population, and there are there not less than three millions of laborers whose very existence depends on cotton. They have no western country to fly to, and while the land of England is sufficient to feed them all they will not starve, whether there be work for them to do or no. There is something there for Communism to divide—something of Fourierism to experiment on. Let but the loom stand still for one month, and there will not be one stone left standing on another of the whole political and social fabric of England.

The statesmen of England know this, sir, and this it is that governs the foreign policy of England, and determines her to oppose her veto to any war that might disturb her commerce, and, through that, her manufactures, on which her very exist-

ence depends. The play of the shuttle is the pulse of life to her. Let it once stop and it beats no more. Nor is this confined to her. The same cause operates on every powerful nation of Western Europe, and hence that long, unnatural peace, which, for more than thirty years, has covered Europe as with a death pall, and produced and prepared more suffering and more causes of mischief than half a century of war had ever done. But the evil is upon them, and they dare not shake it off. However the angry spirit of rival nations may chafe at the restraint—however the plethora of redundant population may call for the letting of blood—the immense fixed capital invested in manufacturing establishments, and the multitudinous population whose bread depends upon them, compel the world to peace. It is, indeed, but a peace of suppressed hostility, of stifled envy, of insidious rivalry, and its consequences make us feel the full force of the woe denounced against those who cry “peace, peace! when there is no peace.” But there is no escape from it. In the cant of the day, “the spirit of the age demands it—the spirit of the age is pacific.”

What, then, sir, would all Europe say to any attempt on the part of the Northern States, or of every power upon earth, to lift a hand against the cotton-growing region, and interrupt the production of that article? The power of wealth would oppose it; the cry of famine would forbid it; the universal nakedness of mankind would forbid it; the united voice of all the civilized world would command the peace. The Southern States of this Union are confessedly the only cotton-growing country in the world, and slave labor the only means by which it can be produced. Whatever may be their spite against us, and however they may cant about slavery, they will be careful to do nothing to interfere with the production of cotton. Had Orpheus been the only man in the world, sir, the nymphs, however enraged, would never have killed him.

All this time I have spoken as if our dear *sister* Massachusetts, and the rest of that sisterhood, were to have the matter their own way. I have taken no notice of the fact that, although North Carolina and Virginia, Tennessee and Kentucky, might not be at once prepared to join the Southern Confederacy, they would feel that their interests were identified with it, and refuse to join in a crusade against the defenders of their rights. They would have a voice in the question of peace or war. They might, indeed, be out-voted, but would a vote retain them, and would the North press a measure which would be sure to force them into the Southern Confederacy? The exemplary patience of Virginia is a proof that she fondly recollects, that to her, more than to any other State, this Union owes its existence. She will be the last to dissolve it violently, because she will be the last to forget the proud and endearing recollections of the past, and to lift her hand against those she

has long cherished as brothers. But let her be told she must fight somebody, and she will not be long in deciding whom she will fight. Tell her to regard and treat as enemies the Southern States, peopled mainly by herself—to imbrue her hands in the blood of her own children, and her answer is ready in the words of Harry Percy :

“Not speak of Mortimer!
 Forbid my tongue to speak of Mortimer!
 Yes, I will speak of him : and may my soul
 Want mercy if I do not join with him!”

Sir, Virginia did not approve the attitude assumed by South Carolina in 1833. What then? Was she prepared to lift a hand against her? On the contrary, she remembers now with pride that her Governor then declared that before one foot should cross the Potomac on a hostile errand against South Carolina he would lay his bones on its shores. That was old John Floyd, sir, a man “who never promised but he meant to pay;” and, thank God, there stands now another John Floyd in his father's place, to repeat and make good his father's words.

But, suppose the few remaining Southern States not to be driven to the necessity of choosing their enemy. Suppose, as would be the case, that no warlike attempt should be made, how long would those States be content to remain under the grinding misgovernment which taxes them for the benefit of their masters in the North, while witnessing the prosperity of their Southern brethren, living under a revenue tariff and enjoying the blessings of free trade? With a modest, economical Government, such as a mere central agency for independent States ought to be, a moderate revenue would suffice, and nothing would prevent the acceptance of the overtures for free trade now made by all commercial nations. These are not accepted now, sir, because mainly beneficial to the South. And who cares for the South? What is the South? An ass of the tribe of Issachar, “bowed down between two burthens;” thirty millions to be paid into the treasury, and twice as much more to go into the pockets of the Northern manufacturers. What if Lord Palmerston should offer now, in return for a reduction of our tariff to a revenue standard, to take off the English duty of seventy-five cents on our tobacco? Would it be accepted? No, sir, no. It would but enrich the tobacco States, and what do our masters care for them? On the other hand, let a Southern Confederacy, in adopting the free trade overture, ask a differential abatement of ten cents of this duty in their favor, and how long would Virginia and North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, and even Maryland and Missouri, delay to avail themselves of the arrangement? Depend upon it, sir, such a Confederacy as I have supposed would hardly be formed before every slaveholding State in the Union would seek ad-

mission into it. The *prestige* of Union once dispelled by a partial secession, the Middle States would be at no loss to choose between union with their Southern brethren, or with their Northern enemies, persecutors and slanderers.

But the thing would not stop here, sir. Pennsylvania, at this moment, with all the advantage of a protective tariff, finds her manufacturers often on the verge of bankruptcy. A tariff may protect her against the competition of European manufactures, but not against the superior skill and capital of New England. Against this she contends as well as she can in the markets of the South. Take that away and she will sink at once. Even now Massachusetts grudges her the benefit of the protection which only enables her to hold up her head. But let the Southern victims of that oppressive system emancipate themselves from it, and, my life upon it, five years will not pass over before it is abolished. What, then, will be the condition of Pennsylvania, placed on the border between a Northern Confederacy, in which she is overshadowed by superior capital and skill, and a Southern Confederacy of which she might become the workshop? A revenue tariff of ten per cent. would be worth more to Pennsylvania, as a member of a Southern Confederacy, than forty per cent. is now—more than all that protection could do for her, were the South withdrawn from the Union.

Let us look a little to the West, sir. I begin with Illinois, because she reaches farthest South; because she is nearest to New Orleans and furthest from New York; and because she begins to be aware that slaves are wanted in the Southern part of the State, and seems not quite insensible to the propriety of letting such of her people have them as have need of them. Now, what will be her situation? No man admires more than I that noble system of inland navigation that connects the waters of the Mississippi with the lakes. But tolls and tow-paths are expensive things, and canals are sometimes broken by floods, sometimes laid dry by drought, and winter rarely fails with his icy breath to close up the navigation of the lakes. But the Mississippi, broad, deep and full, is ever open to bear on its flowing bosom all the bulky and weighty products of Illinois, at the lowest possible rate of expense. I am aware, sir, that the law of nations would secure to the States, on the waters of that river, a free passage to the ocean. But that law would not exempt them from imposts and from export duties, and from all the inconveniences which must be encountered by those who necessarily pass through a foreign country to get to their own. A great river, such as the Mississippi, like an iron cramp, holds together all the country penetrated by its tributaries, and no amount of human perverseness can long prevent them from blending into one "like kindred drops."

What I have said of Illinois applies with nearly equal force

to Indiana. It may, in time, apply also to Ohio. At present, sir, I see nothing in that region which we designate as Ohio of which any sort of moral or political character can be predicted. I see a vast multitude of all kindred, tongues and nations, swept down and agglomerated like the wash of a hill side, or that from the mouth of a common sewer; heaped, as against a dam, on the north bank of the river. On such an alluvial deposit you may raise cucumbers and onions, but the majestic forest oak can find no root there—the stately edifice no stable foundation. Among such a rabble you may have temporary regulations of arbitration and police—but a *government*, strong to protect, strong to restrain, consecrated by the affection and reverence of the people, “a fortress at once and a temple”—the thing is impossible. The rock-built anapolis of Tennessee stands on yonder hill, and there it will stand. It is built of rock, for it stands on a rock; and there they will stand together till the foundations of the earth are shaken. But as well might you build such a structure on the marshes of the lower Mississippi, as to establish anything deserving the name of a free, stable and enduring government on such a quaking bog as Ohio. The institution of domestic slavery, which, like piles driven into the earth, gives stability to government, and renders universal suffrage and perfect freedom possible to those who are free, is a resource denied to them. God forbid that I should desire to introduce slavery there. No, sir. I would not so wrong the negro. He is proud and happy in his subordination to one worthy to be his master. But servitude under such as these, differing, indeed, in color, and inferior in all besides, it would break his heart. If such servitude as this is their only idea of slavery, I protest before God that their abhorrence of it must fall far short of mine. But they themselves are sensible of the negro's superiority, and they are jealous of it. They steal our slaves from us, and when they have made them what they call free, they harass them, they persecute them, they combine to shut them out from all creditable or profitable employment—they starve them out, and even drive them away! Is this disgust? No, sir. It is jealousy. The shoemaker will not sit on the same bench with the negro. But let the negro prosper in spite of persecution, and he will give him his daughter in marriage; and she, too, will thankfully take him to her obscene and lustful bosom. And this is Ohio; and the philanthropic abolitionist, as he floats down the river, turns his eye sadly from Kentucky, the home of a bold, high-minded, law-abiding yeomanry—the home of accomplished gentlemen and enlightened statesmen—to gaze on the prosperity of Ohio. What does he see there, sir? A fertile soil, industry, manufactures, commerce, wealth, and even some science. All the elements of civilization are there—but of civilization itself, of the refinements and courtesies of life, nothing. No, sir;

without social organization there can be no civilization. It is the relation between true and acknowledged superiority and confessed inferiority that elevates and ennobles both where both are capable of elevation. Association will always assimilate. The Southern gentleman, studiously observing all possible courtesy in his deportment to the negro, makes a gentleman of him, while he himself becomes more a gentleman by his condescension. The man of Ohio has nobody below him but his *hog*. He cannot make the hog a gentleman, sir; and I need not say how the dead weight of a hog must operate to drag down his companion to his level.

But there is the Queen City, as they call it, "showing like a jewel on an Ethiop's ear." I went ashore there the other day, sir, and verily I should have thought that, like the Queen of the House of Brunswick, she had been imported from Germany; for the young princes in her streets talked hardly any other language but the German. And these are the men whose suffrages are to give law to us whose fathers rescued the country from the dominion of a German prince upon the English throne.

I speak harshly, sir. I know it. I meant to do so. I speak as it becomes every man to speak of the enemies of his country, for I speak of those who have long waged a systematic, predatory and cowardly war against Virginia, *my country*. But enough of Ohio. There let her lie—a foul cesspool—at one time green and stagnant, at another stirred up from the bottom by the strifes of the reptiles that struggle in its mud, and tainting the moral atmosphere with its stench.

The inhabitants of Ohio may one day acquire that consistency which is necessary to constitute a people, and then they may form themselves a government, or in the meantime they may find a master. It will be time enough then to consider our relations to them. Until then, I will rest in the hope that should such event take place as I have spoken of, they will see the necessity of paying that respect to the laws of nations which they deny to the Constitution.

Mr. President, I hope I have said enough to satisfy thinking men that those frightful consequences of disunion, at the thought of which the heart trembles and the cheek turns pale, will not follow disunion, should the North be mad enough to drive us to that extremity. If I have succeeded in this, I have accomplished all I wished. I have not spoken with a view to make men desire disunion. I have aimed at no more than to keep them from being frightened out of their senses at the bare thought of it. I wish only to bring them to hear reason, and having done this, I expect them to see at a glance that the true way to preserve the Union is to let the people of the North see that we all understand our true position, and all see the matter in this light. Let them see that even those among us (if there be any such), who would surrender every right sooner than

expose themselves to the horrors of war, are sensible that there is no danger of war, and no reason why they should submit to insult, outrage and wrong, lest a worse thing befall them. Let the North understand, sir, that such are the views and temper of the South, and the spirit of encroachment will stand rebuked, and the statesmen of the North will, at once, and with anxious earnestness, acknowledge our rights, and in good faith address themselves to those who speak for us, not to cajole and bribe them to betray us, but to ascertain what will actually and permanently satisfy us. By such means the Union may be preserved, and if such a course is adopted, the Union is safe. This course of proceeding must begin with us. It must begin *here and now*. That is our business here, sir. To save the Union, and to save it by showing the people of the North that, by persevering in their wanton, unjust and mad career, *they* will destroy it. If it perishes, the act will be *theirs—not ours*.

Mr. President, I have worn out the patience of the Convention, exhausted my strength and wasted my feeble voice without saying the tenth part of what I had to say. I have come here with my mind charged to bursting with thoughts that vainly struggle for utterance. To "unpack my heart with words," and give voice to all I would wish to say—I would as soon attempt to drain Lake Erie through a goose quill.

I would speak of the magnificent future and glorious destiny of a Southern Confederacy. I would speak of the various and boundless resources of a country embracing the noble Chesapeake and its waters, extending thence to the Gulf, and from the Atlantic to the Bravo, comprehending an assortment of all things needful for agriculture, manufactures and commerce. I would point to the region of iron, coal and water-power stretching from this spot to the eastern foot of the Alleghanies, sloping down in the east to the tide waters of the Atlantic, in the west to the river plains that border the Mississippi, while James river, the Potomac and Ohio stretch forth their arms to encircle the whole in their embrace, and bind together the three great interests of civilization with a cord twisted by the hand of Nature, in a union like that of the sexes—a union of congenial, not conflicting interest. No Mezentian marriage of the living with the dead; no compact between power and weakness, simplicity and craft, generosity and selfishness! No *Compromise!* in which, as in bargains with the devil, one party signs his name in his own blood, which all the waters of Lethe will not wash out, while the other uses a chemical compound of the newest Yankee invention, which disappears as soon as it is dry.

I would speak of the destiny and destination of the negro race—I would recite the divine decree which mitigated the curse of Canaan, by ordaining that in the tents of Shem he

should dwell with Japhet as his servant, and in that school of civilization and Christianity purge away his first offence, and qualify himself to be restored to his Maker's favor. These words, so long without any intelligible meaning, have found their interpretation and fulfilment here. They indicate the task to be performed, and designate us to perform it. Woe to us, if, seeking rather the praise of man than the honor that cometh from God, we shrink from it. Let us rather be thankful that He has made choice of us, unworthy as we are, to be His instruments in this great work. What have all the missionaries on earth, since the days of the Apostles, done for the spread of the Gospel among the heathen, compared to what has been effected on behalf of the negro race in this great school of domestic slavery? The success of the teacher has not been everywhere the same, because all were not equally competent and equally faithful. The Frenchman who but taught his pupil to sing and to dance, and to practice his old abominations in a new way, was flogged with his own birch and barred out. The Englishman, in his serene self-complacency, contemplating his own imaginary superiority over all others, set up at last for being wiser than God himself, broke up his school and dismissed his pupils. So far we have stood manfully to our post. We have not, indeed, studied as we ought, all the duties of our position; but we are finding them, and the improvement of the negro—physical, moral and intellectual—is our witness that we have not been altogether unfaithful. In this connection, sir, I would not speak of our *interest* in the matter. The decree which appointed our task appointed our wages, and unless God be false, then let us assure ourselves that so long as we perform the one, we shall receive the other. I have no fears for the result while we are true to ourselves and to *Him*. The institution of slavery is of His appointment, and it will endure until it shall have accomplished that to which it was appointed. Sir, I went on Sunday last to the Episcopal church, and there, in the psalm for the day, I heard the voice of God, and He put a new song into my mouth, a song of deliverance and triumph:

"Thou art my king, O God! Send help unto Jacob.

"Through thee will be overthrown our enemies, and in thy name will we tread *them* under who rise up against us.

"For I will not trust in any bow: it is not my sword that shall help me.

"But now thou art afar off, and puttest us to confusion.

"Thou makest us to turn our backs upon our enemies, so that they that hate us spoil our goods.

"But although all this be come upon us, yet do we not forget thee.

"Up, Lord! Why sleepest thou? Arise and help us for thy mercy's sake.

"The Lord of hosts is on our side. The God of Jacob is our refuge."

I am far from imagining, sir, that the benevolent purposes of

the Creator in favor of the African race are limited to the small number that have been brought over to us, or that the slave trade will be continued until all Africa is dispeopled. No, sir. Civilization and Christianity must be sent to those who cannot be brought to them. But how? It has pleased the Almighty to envelop that Continent with a pestilential atmosphere, which a white man cannot breathe and live. The peculiar conformation of the negro race fits him alone for it, and it is by him that this work must be done. The Colonization Society is a feeble, premature and abortive attempt at this. The negro has as yet learned but half the lesson necessary to qualify him for this task. But let a place be found *nearer home*, where a colony of free blacks may be established under a provincial government, protected, regulated and controlled by a Southern Confederacy, open to all who will go to it, and from its proximity accessible to all. How long would it be, sir, before exercising in a limited decree the functions of self-government, they would learn that other lesson which is necessary to qualify them, not only for personal but political freedom? Growing and flourishing under the paternal care of their former masters, we might expect nothing but good offices from them. Such a colony would be no runaway's harbor, and a time would come (and it will come, sir,) which none of us will live to see, when, established in complete independence, they will be in condition to go forth from this normal school, and settle colonies of their own on all the coasts of Africa. But where is this place near home? Sir, the folly and madness of France have prepared it. It is Hayti; and were a Southern Confederacy once formed, five years would not elapse before a cession would be obtained there, or somewhere on the southern shores of the Gulf, of territory sufficient for such a colony.

I beg pardon, sir, for these speculations. This is a subject on which it is so much the custom for those to talk most who think least, that a man who has made it the study of his whole life is under some necessity of apologizing for the expression of his thoughts.

ART. VIII.—THE BELLIGERENTS.

"Achilles' wrath, to Greece the direful spring
Of woes unnumbered ————"—ILLIAD.

A REVOLUTION has been consummated, a people united, a Government established, a Constitution adopted, and a vigorous young power, forced upon the perilous career of independent empire, has vindicated its nationality and assumed its position among the powers of the earth. Its only acknowledged foe is the Government from which it has withdrawn, which, now maddened by opposition and humiliated by defeat, is employing

all its resources, both by land and sea, in the insane and unholy attempt to reduce a free and independent people to subjection to its arrogant and arbitrary authority. This public enemy is a bitter, relentless, hereditary foe, whose attitude toward these Republics of the South has been ever one of uniform, persistent and irreconcilable hostility; and the sword that is now being pointed at Southern breasts, and thirsting for Southern blood, was drawn, in anger, more than thirty years ago; and has only been awaiting this opportune moment, when, in obedience to that cowardly instinct that prompts to action only when, conscious of superior power, it felt strong enough to throw away the scabbard, and inaugurate the carnival of blood. For more than a quarter of a century a state of hostilities has existed between these alien and antagonist communities, and requiring only the suitable opportunity and the requisite official sanction to invest it with the solemnities of a formal declaration of war. Now, that opportunity has been presented, that sanction has been given, and the insane despot at Washington, reeling in drunken fury on his tottering throne, and waving, in impotent rage, his broken sceptre over a dissevered empire, fulminates his bloody *edict*, and bids his faithful janissaries commence the work of slaughter! The tocsin has been sounded, the wager has been accepted, and on every hill-top, from the Rio Grande to the Potomac, from the Atlantic seaboard to the far West, the Confederate camp-fires illumine the night, and the tramp of armed men tells that the hour of conflict draws near. Mighty events, big with the fate of empires, and unparalleled in the annals of the race, come on apace, soon to lift the curtain of the future and disclose a drama more terrible and bloody than the civilized age has ever been called upon to witness. But, welcomed to the sons of the South is the advent of this long expected hour! who, now, with united hands and hearts, and garlands of cypress encircling their brows, cheerfully take their seats round the banquet table of death, and prepare to make the patriot's last, sad sacrifice! And they are cheered by the beautiful and inspiring thought that, though they may perish, yet their country will still survive, and be great among the nations, long after centuries shall have swept over their honored dust; while the soft South winds will come to whisper fond requiems over their manes, and bring the wild flowers of their own native clime to keep sweet vigils over the warrior's long rest!

Thrice, thrice welcome is this hour! From this moment a Nation is born, that will stand first among the Nations, and perpetuate on this continent the ideas and institutions of free, civil Government. Too long, already, has it been trifling with its destiny; too long has it been fondling its fingers and slumbering in voluptuous ease, when it should have been writing its history in deeds that would have vindicated its nationality, and

spared it the taunts and insults now received at the hands of an insolent foe. Fortunate, most fortunate, the happening of the events that compose the stern and solemn issues of this present hour! Ease, luxury and the soft blandishments of repose had already commenced to steal, with their fatal stupor, over the faculties of a race favored of fate, born to conquer and command, and entrusted with the high commission of building up and perpetuating the monuments of a splendid civilization on the Western Hemisphere. Effeminacy and the enervating arts of peace had weakened and corrupted the *morale* and the spirit of the South, and caused the scheme of a Southern nationality to be regarded as the idle fantasy of the political dreamer. But there was one spot left, where the fatal contagion had not spread, and the proud *Huguenot* blood, true to its grand and imperishable souvenirs, vindicated its traditional glory, and gave a new empire to the world! All honor to that illustrious and patriotic Commonwealth that stood firm, resolute and undaunted, when fear and trembling, and hesitation and doubt, seized upon sovereign communities, and caused them to turn pale, and inquired, "What safety can there be outside of the Federal Union?" Prosperity is more fatal to nations than war, pestilence or famine; and the exclusive cultivation of the arts of peace is the surest method of bringing on the calamities of war. From this moment the Government of the Confederate States becomes a military power, and will in time be as renowned in the arts of war, as it was formerly in those of peace. Martial, in the framework of its society; martial, in the genius and temper of its people; martial, from the necessities of its situation and the dangers that surround it, it must, in the natural evolution and consolidation of its forces, assimilate its political to the type of its social features, and establish an organism suitable to its wants, and capable of carrying out and perfecting the scheme of its civilization, in conformity with the laws of its institutional life. That life is an organized system of subordination, resting primarily on conquest, and accepting the principle of *force*, as the necessary basis of social organization. "The natural state of man is war;" and the laws of civilization impose that same condition upon political societies, which man, in the savage state, cannot escape. The Southern Republics are based on the recognition of this principle; but, in consequence of their intimate political relations with communities whose social systems stood opposed to these fundamental ideas, they have, heretofore, through a regard for the honest prejudices and convictions of their associates, abandoned the position which morality sanctioned, and policy and interest dictated, and through love of peace and devotion to a common Government, surrendered their destinies into the hands of those whose acts have proved them to be a public enemy.

But the hour, the inevitable, the final hour, has arrived, and

the South has thrown herself upon her destiny and risen to the full measure of her greatness. The conflict will be fierce, stern and sanguinary; terrible the carnage, the desolation, the slaughter, but fixed as fate the result. Above the cloud of war, and over the din and strife of battle, will rise the star of Southern independence and nationality! A warrior race will found an empire, illustrious in arms, as renowned in arts, and shew the Cavalier blood to be still worthy of its Norman origin. Its empire will be peace; but the sword will share the supremacy of the spade, the rudder and distaff, and make the camp contribute no less to the national glory than the forum and the Senate. All the wealth that arts and commerce bring, all the influence at home and consideration abroad that national greatness commands, all the advantages that give supremacy to race over race, and secure the permanent prosperity of States, comes of that empire that arms ever exercise over the destinies of nations, and the possession of those exalted virtues that find little illustration outside of camps. Armies represent the conservative principle of governments; and the more martial a nation becomes the stronger it is, the more secure its liberties and permanent its rule. Permanent military establishments can alone keep alive the martial spirit among nations, and arrest that tendency to decay that shews itself so soon as the degrading and demoralizing pursuits of commerce convert a nation into a race of plundering banditti, and prepare it for the servitude of the senses. Commerce was, at once, the cause of the rise and the subsequent downfall of the Italian Republics. It brought prosperity; but, with prosperity, came the fondness for ease and luxury, and that fatal *timidity* that is the eternal opprobrium of commercial communities. Factions convulsed the State and dictators rose to power, and there were none but foreign mercenaries to defend the public liberties. The usurpation at Washington is the legitimate result of the same social laws that cursed Florence with a Borgia; and the political philosophy of Nicolo Machiavelli will never cease to find illustration so long as commerce afflicts the world with robber nations. Had England been a republic, the commercial spirit had, long since, dug the grave of her nationality. Had France hung up her sword to rust, she had now been receiving laws from Hapsburg or Romanoff. Had the South not promptly severed her connection with the Northern cut-throats and free-booters, she had now been resting under the heel of the abolition despotism. But the belligerents now stand face to face, and wide open are thrown the brazen gates of Janus. The world looks intently on while the dark sisters unfold the book of fate. Alecto and Nemesis are there; the oracle hath spoken; the omens are auspicious, and not a cloud dims the lustre of the Southern constellation. Brightly it beams down upon the Confederate hosts, while the plume of Agamemnon floats proudly on the

crest of battle and gives sure earnest of victory. No civil strife is this; no struggle of Guelph and Ghibelline; no contest between York and Lancaster; but a war of alien races, distinct nationalities, and opposite, hostile and eternally antagonistic Governments. Cavalier and Roundhead no longer designate parties, but *nations*, whose separate foundations were laid on Plymouth Rock and the banks of James river; and who would understand the causes of the present convulsions in America must find their explanation in the irreconcilable character of the Courtier and Puritan, the antagonisms of commercial and agricultural communities, and the conflicts between free and slave labor, when the manufacturing and navigating interests attempt to wrest the sceptre from agriculture by unfriendly legislation.

The differences between the Northern and Southern portions of the former American Union never involved a moral question; but were founded in political and economical considerations. They were but the revival, on a new theatre, of that eternal war that is, in all countries, waged between land and sea—the spade and the rudder. They were the results of the same motives and policy that induced Augustus Caesar to take off the duty imposed on foreign grain for the protection of his Gallie provinces, and allow the corn from the Nile, where four annual crops were made, to come in, duty free, and prostrate the agriculture of the provinces, whose austerer climate allowed only one annual harvest. They were produced by the same facts and causes that have given rise in England to two parties, known as the Corn Law and Anti-Corn Law League.

The “American system,” with its splendid retinue of banks, tariffs, and internal improvement schemes, meant nothing but the building up of Northern trade and manufactures at the expense of Southern agriculture, and shifting the burden of the Government on the shoulders of the producing or tax-paying section, by forcing it to purchase, at ruinous prices, from the North, those articles of consumption that foreign nations were ready to furnish at reasonable rates. Boston, New York and Philadelphia got possession of the Government, and like the old feudal freebooters of the Rhine, planted themselves on the great highways of trade, and levied tribute upon all that were too feeble to resist. The South attempted to dislodge them by appealing to the doctrine of State sovereignty, and maintaining the right of secession, but gained nothing but *promises* of assistance, whose only design was, to allow the enemy to fortify more strongly his position, till, effecting an alliance of fanaticism with cupidity, and appealing to those fierce instincts and passions that lawless power knows so well how to employ, he raised the black flag, avowed his long-meditated designs of subjugation, but found a *nation* of invincible warriors where he expected to find a timid *colony* of slaves. But these and all

former issues are now dead, and swallowed up in events of mightier moment, whose stern, solemn and exigent demands impose duties and sacrifices that only the most exalted patriotism can meet. No time or place this for the sackcloth and ashes of regretful reminiscence, or the soft memories that bring back the days of early love, now fled forever; they were beautiful and glorious when fidelity was esteemed a virtue, and to be true, was held honorable; but the eternal fates, who slumber not, have willed, and what yesterday was free-will, to-day is destiny. Idle and unprofitable is it, then, to inquire, "how hath all this been done?" or "where the head upon which to launch the thunderbolt?" Most unprofitable all! Sufficient to know that Jamestown, a nation of cavaliers born, has cut the Mezentian, Puritan link, and is to the full stature of a *nation* grown; that two *nations* stand face to face with swords drawn and scabbards cast away, and waiting to hear from the cannon's brazen lips who will the victor, who will the vanquished be.

Mardonius, urging with his myriad Persian hosts the war of Asiatic despotism and centralization against the free spirit of the Hellenic civilization, is the storied type of that conflict whose thunders have commenced to convulse America's pillared State. Asia against Europe; absolutism against chartered rule; democracy against republican conservatism; nationality against conquest and denationalization, is the naked issue of this present hour, and as the result was in the past so will it be now. The belligerents are fair foes, not unequal in gallantry, not unmatched in martial prowess; but the eternal and indestructible principle of nationality, animating the breasts of a great people, and kindling the enthusiasm of a proud, historic race, is a *fate*, irresistible as death; a destiny firm-fixed as the everlasting hills! It is the battle won, before fought, on every sanguinary field; the triumphal arch, the victor's crown decreed before stern resolve hath writ itself in successful deed; and even though defeat should be its doom, it will perish like him of Greece, Bozzaris, cheering on the band. Let it not be thought that the conflict just begun will ever have an end; *truces* there may be, but never a lasting peace, till another Agincourt roll back the tide of conquest, and fix it to its native bed; and even then, other Hastings and other Waterloos will come to tell what, in blood and treasure, it ever costs proud, historic races, to preserve and perpetuate their distinct nationalities. Idlest and most infatuated of dreamers is he who does not discover a more significant meaning in the declarations of the "Chicago Platform" than the mere embodied creed of a political party. It means what England meant when she first turned her eyes toward the Carnatic, and chartered the East India Company. It means what the European powers meant when they seized upon the islands of the Mexican Gulf. It

means what France meant by the armed occupation of Algeria. It means what Russia meant, and still means, by her designs on the Sublime Porte—subjugation, conquest, *anything to get control of the rich commerce of the tropics!* This Review, at the time, pronounced that “platform” to be an inchoate declaration of war, condemned the Charleston Convention as a sham, besought the South to hurl to perdition the mercenary wretches who were making shameless traffic of her honor, and strike at once for her liberties. As long as the South submitted to the imposition of ruinous tariffs, the North was satisfied, for did she not enjoy all the profits of tropical production, without its toils and vexations? But when the South demanded free trade and the lowering of duties, the North trembled for her supremacy, shook her fists at Carolina, but yielded only to change her plan of attack, and assure a final triumph by the abolition agitation and the augmentation of the number of abolition States. This promised well till South Carolina caught a glimpse of the Morrill Bill, as it attempted to conceal itself under the cloak of “Squatter Sovereignty,” in the act of joining hands with the “Irrepressible Conflict,” prior to consummating the grand design of striking the South from the map of the Constitution, and establishing a military despotism.

No; this war commenced with tariffs, and waged with tariffs, till a better substitute could be found in bullets, will never end so long as Boston sits upon her bleak hills and casts wistful eyes upon that fair region where bright tropical suns warm into life those rich products that feed the commerce of the world and lay the foundations of mighty empires. The long and desolating wars of the Fronde and Palitinate will not be more protracted, sanguinary and destructive than the struggle that has just commenced in America, unless the Confederate Government depart from the farewell counsels of the sage of Mount Vernon and form European alliances. They are now both necessary and desirable. Washington advised well for the time and generation to which he spoke; but those parting exhortations must be viewed in the light of recommendations, not injunctions. One single plant, and which was known to the founders of the Republic only as a rare garden exotic, has revolutionized the diplomacy of the world and now dictates the policy of cabinets. The Bank of England does not more firmly unite the British subject to his Government than does this one tropical product join all commercial nations in bonds of firmest connection. It is the olive branch of peace to all the nations but the Puritan, and he has made it the firebrand of war, because he could not control the country that produces it, after the manner that Great Britain governs the populations of the Indus, or Spain her West Indian dependency. Both France and England have, commercially, a vital interest in this struggle; and their armed interference is suggested by

political considerations of no inferior magnitude. Manchester, Birmingham and Liverpool, Rouen, Lyons and Marseilles, stand, in interest, pledged to protest against this unholy war, while the Court of St. James is far from being insensible to the obligation of upholding the cause of constitutional government throughout the world. Nor will even the Court of St. Cloud stand idly by and see an armed and lawless despotism butchering freemen and driving commerce from the ocean. Not that the Confederate Government is not, of itself, abundantly able to maintain the ground it has taken, but that, without the interposition of the European powers, this present conflict must be a long, bloody and disastrous struggle, involving the interests, not only of this continent, but crippling the industry and paralyzing the enterprise of the whole world.

Let Great Britain, then, be made to see that it is her interest to have this war speedily terminated, and to-morrow the federal fleet will be swept from the ocean! But England will not interpose till a decisive battle shall have been fought, and victory declare the triumph of the Confederate arms. This will give the foreign cabinets assurance of the stability of the new Government, and open the way to its immediate recognition, with a full guarantee of its independence. But, if these cabinets preserve a strict neutrality, this war will never have an end, till either Black Republicanism or Southern Institutionalism is exterminated by the sword! Such is the open declaration of the "Chicago Platform," and nothing can stay its inevitable consummation but a European alliance, offensive and defensive. If England and France united to assure the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, in preservation of the European balance of power, there is the same necessity existing, through commercial, if not political, considerations, to vindicate that principle in its application to the present condition of affairs on the American Continent. The Confederate Congress has, in the adoption of the policy of free trade, made a proposition to the European powers which they cannot well reject; but it is difficult to make these Governments comprehend the fact that the present conflict in America is not a *civil* strife, but a war of *Nationalities*; and till they arrive at this understanding, abandon their prejudices, cut loose from the leading strings of antiquated usage and precedent, and take the direction of their interests, leading through new combinations, and necessitating novel relations, commercial and political, the prospects of returning peace will be most distant. But the Confederate Government will resolutely maintain its position without regard to any course of action the European powers may see fit to pursue; and making a proper use of all those advantages which result from the possession of a population of over twelve millions, and a territory exceeding in extent one half of Europe, intersected at all points with military roads, and inhabited by

a martial and unconquerable people, will finally work out its own deliverance, and attempt, at least, to mitigate the horrors, if it cannot succeed in putting a speedy end to this most iniquitous war.

ART. IX.—MODERN WARFARE.

INFANTRY, cavalry and artillery constitute the three great arms of military service, which, to be made effective, must be in proper proportion. The infantry, which ought to constitute about four-fifths of the whole, is subdivided into those of the line, light infantry and riflemen. Upon the line-infantry depends the brunt of the battle; these drive at the point of the bayonet, or, formed into square, repel the charges of cavalry. Light infantry, on the other hand, are placed upon the flanks, to open engagements, unmask batteries, feign attacks, and harass and worry, in every way, the enemy. They constitute the pickets, advance and rear guard, and find the best model in the French Zouave. The rifles depend for efficiency upon their position, which they can hold against very superior force, and the men should be well practised. We quote from Captain Viele's "Hand Book of Active Service:"

"Cavalry is placed second in importance to infantry, although modern warfare has developed such perfection in artillery, that it has in many instances turned the tide of battle, and saved the other arms from a crushing defeat. Well-drilled cavalry, however, saves the strength of an army, which, in the absence of it, would be broken down by the advanced post duties, patrol and detachment service, and many other duties which, at the best, infantry would but be able imperfectly to perform. Its chief value is felt when the infantry is exhausted by fatigue; coming freshly upon the ground in an engagement, it gives the other troops time to recover their strength, and the commands to re-form. The nature of the country in which a campaign is undertaken, determines the relative proportion of cavalry to infantry. In an open country, the cavalry can be increased with advantage. As a general rule, however, one regiment of cavalry to four regiments of foot is a proper proportion, since cavalry, unless well supported by infantry, would at times be utterly powerless and unable to protect itself. To render it perfect, it should be composed of strong, skilful, bold and reckless riders, well-trained and well-built horses, so that, dashing forward on an instant, and moving with celerity upon the enemy, it rides him down before he has time to prepare to meet the shock.

"Artillery is an arm of great power, and in skilful hands the most effective arm of the service; it inspires confidence in the troops, and if the fire is delivered with precision and rapidity, it is next to impossible to withstand it. On the other hand, if not well supported by infantry, it falls readily into the enemy's hands, giving him an immense advantage in an instant. To this end, care should be taken not to have it out of proportion to the arms. Two batteries of six (6-pounders) field pieces to one division, or four foot regiments, will generally be found a due proportion. When the character of the ground is favorable, the nature of the service may require an increase of the artillery to three batteries. Upon this basis, then, an effective organization or army corps would be composed of about 5,000 men:

2 regiments of infantry of the line	1,000 each
1 regiment of light infantry	1,000 "
1 regiment of riflemen	1,000 "
1 regiment of cavalry	1,000 "
2 batteries (six pieces) of artillery, or 4 batteries of 4 pieces, if mountain howitzers are used."	

The company consists of from fifty to one hundred men, and is officered by a captain, two or more lieutenants, four to six sergeants and as many corporals. It is divided into two platoons of two sections each. The captain takes his post on the right of the company. Two companies of cavalry constitute a squadron. In addition to the regular uniform, each foot soldier going into service should be provided with knapsack, haversack, blanket, knife and fork, spoon, tin plate and cup, canteen, as also two woollen undershirts, two pair thick drawers, four pair woollen socks, two pair stout shoes. There should be transported, with the company's baggage, a supply of clothing equal to one-fourth of the strength of the company. Uniform for active service should consist of a simple fatigue dress of durable material, a plain and substantial overcoat with a cape and a forage cap.

The regiment consists of ten companies. It is provided with a color, and is officered by a colonel, a lieutenant-colonel, two majors, a quarter-master, commissary, paymaster, surgeon, an adjutant, sergeant-major, quarter-master-sergeant and commissary-sergeant. The four first are called field officers, the others the commissioned and non-commissioned staff. The field officers and the adjutant, when on march, are mounted. The colonel's position is thirty paces to the rear and opposite the centre. Two or more regiments constitute a brigade when serving together, and two or more brigades a division, under its appropriate general. Two divisions constitute an army corps, which, with its cavalry and artillery, comprise the elements of a complete army ready for service.

In action the general or senior major-general has no fixed position, but may go wherever he deems proper. Generals of division are about seventy paces to the rear of their centres, and generals of brigade about forty paces to the rear.

The march of an army is an imposing movement:*

"The troops are distributed according to the character of the country. In a very open country, a large proportion of the cavalry would be at the head of the column; but generally it is distributed throughout the line. The artillery should be in rear of the first foot regiment. An advance and rear guard of mounted troops; one or two companies should be detailed each day, and the regiment that has the right of the line one day, should be the next day in the rear.

"If the nature of the country will admit of it, more espe-

* Viele's Hand Book, p. 49.

cially in passing defiles or mountain gorges, a few detachments of flankers should be thrown out on the right and left of the column at the distance of one or two hundred paces, to prevent ambuscades and to keep a sharp lookout, to give timely notice of any signs of the enemy.

"The column having been formed at half or quarter distance, and the baggage train assembled in the rear, properly protected by a baggage guard selected from each regiment for its own baggage; the column is put in motion, and the march commences with precisely the same regularity as would be observed by a regiment or regiments moving in or out of a garrison town; the bands playing, the light infantry with arms sloped, and those of the riflemen slung over the shoulder, the officers with swords drawn, and exact wheeling distances of the sections preserved, and perfect silence observed.

"After having proceeded a short distance in this manner, the word of command, 'route step,' is given by the general at the head of the leading battalion, and this is passed quickly on to the rear from company to company. The captains, instead of continuing at the head of their companies, drop back to the rear of them: the reasons for allotting this station to them is, that they may see any men of their respective companies who attempt to leave the ranks without leave. The officers and non-commissioned officers preserve the wheeling distance. The soldiers now carry their arms in any manner most convenient. Some sling them over their shoulder (most of them, indeed, prefer this mode as the least fatiguing), others slope them, and many trail them, and they constantly change from the right hand or right shoulder to the left. Although allowed to prosecute the march in this easy and unrestrained manner, a heavy penalty, nevertheless, awaits the man who quits the ranks without permission from the captain or officer commanding his company."

The *Reveille* is the signal for the men to rise, and the sentinel to leave off challenging.

The *Troop* is to sound or beat at — o'clock in the morning, for the purpose of assembling the men for duty and inspection at guard mounting.

The *Retreat* is to sound or beat at sunset, for the purpose of warning the officers and men for duty, and for reading the orders of the day.

The *Tattoo* is to be beat at — o'clock in the evening, after which no soldier is to be out of his tent or quarters, unless by special leave.

Peas-upon-a-trencher, the signal for breakfast, is to sound or beat at — o'clock in the morning.

Roast-beef, the signal for dinner, is to sound or beat at — o'clock; at other times it is the signal to draw provisions.

The *Surgeon's call* is to sound or beat at — o'clock, when the sick, able to go out, will be conducted to the hospital by the first sergeants of companies, who will hand to the surgeon a report of all the sick in the company other than in hospital. The patients who cannot attend at the dispensary will be immediately after, if not before, visited by the surgeon.

The *General* is to beat only when the whole army is to march, and is the signal to strike the tents and prepare for the march.

The *Assembly* is the signal to form by company.

To the *Color* is the signal to form by battalion.

The *March* is for the whole to move.

The *Long roll* is the signal for getting under arms, in case of alarm or the sudden approach of the enemy.

The *Parley* is to desire a conference with the enemy.*

The camp will, of course, vary with the nature of the troops, and should be preceded by reconnoissances. The health and comfort of troops, the facility of communications, convenience of wood and water, and the resources in provisions and forage, are mainly to be looked to. Each company of infantry has its tents in two files, the officers' tents being in the rear. The cavalry have one file of tents, the horses being placed in single file, facing the opening of the tents, and are fastened to pickets planted firmly in the ground.

The history of war will show that perhaps the larger portion of mortality is due to diseases incident to improper diet. This fact is particularly manifest in the volunteer service, and was painfully so in the Mexican war. Taught by experience, the British sent to the seat of the Crimean war proper persons to teach the soldiers how to cook their rations.

"The regular daily ration of food issued to the troops in service, is three-fourths of a pound of pork or bacon, or one and a fourth pounds of fresh or salt beef; eighteen ounces of bread or flour, or twelve ounces of hard bread, or one and a fourth pounds of corn meal, and at the rate, to one hundred rations, of eight quarts of peas or beans, or, in lieu thereof, ten pounds of rice, six pounds of coffee, twelve pounds of sugar, four quarts of vinegar, one and a half pounds of tallow, or one and a fourth pounds of adamantine, or one pound sperm candles; four pounds of soap, and two quarts of salt.

"On a campaign or on marches, or on board transports, the ration of hard bread is one pound.

"Fresh beef, when it can be procured, should be furnished at least twice a week.†"

We shall conclude this paper with some remarks upon the influence which improved arms must have upon the art of war.

The Revolutionary war is said to have been won by the rifle, and certain it is the Americans, especially from the South and West, have great reputation as riflemen. Rifles and rifle muskets have been adopted in the United States for the entire infantry. In Great Britain, recent experiments have been made with the Jacob's, Whitworth and Lancaster rifle. The former is double-barrelled, with four deep grooves. Length of barrel two feet. Excellent results have been attained at two thousand yards, and at one thousand yards it is said an instructed soldier can strike the size of a man once in three times! The Whitworth rifle is in length thirty-nine inches. As compared with the Enfield rifle, the former at one thousand eight hundred yards penetrated a board which the latter did not hit.

* Viele, p. 62.

† Viele's Hand-Book of Active Service.

The Whitworth, at one thousand six hundred yards, was as accurate as the Enfield at five hundred. The Lancaster rifle is in length thirty-two inches, and is said to be equal in accuracy and range to Jacobs', and superior to the Enfield, and will shoot *shot* as well as the smooth bored musket.

Breech-loading arms have been introduced to but a limited extent in Europe. The exceptions are in Prussia, Sweden, Norway and France. They were invented in 1540 by Henry II, of France. The advantages and disadvantages of this arm are thus summed up by Lieut. Wilcox, in his work upon "Rifle Practice":

"It cannot be denied that this breech-loading arm inspires more confidence in the individual, and gives him a superiority over his adversary, if not similarly armed. In the defence of forts, block-houses, trenches, breaches, bridges, defiles, and, in fact, all cases where rapidity of fire should compensate for paucity of numbers, the breech-loader would be preferable. With the many advantages thus offered, it is, perhaps, strange, that breech-loading arms have not been more generally introduced into service. The influence of the fire of a few regiments of infantry, armed with breech-loaders, at critical periods of an action, could not fail to be decisive, and the army that has such corps with it must be more efficient. The objections to, or defects of, breech-loading arms, are that they are complicated in their mechanism, are liable to get out of order from fouling, or escape of gas at the joints, or want of strength; and as the facility of loading gives great rapidity of fire, it is asserted that, in battle, under the influence of excitement, the soldier would load and fire without reflection, or without the orders of his officer, and when the decisive moment should arrive, he would have exhausted his ammunition. The facility of fire, which is the greatest advantage, is thus made to appear its greatest inconvenience."

There are a great variety of breech-loading arms in use in Europe. Those of the United States are Sharp's, Burnside's, Merrill's, Joslyn's, Maynard's and Colt's. An Army Board at West Point, in 1857, gave the preference to Burnside's. Colt's pistol was largely used in the Crimea and in British India, and his rifle is much praised in England. In some experiments at Victoria, out of forty-eight shots, all struck the target the size of a man at four hundred yards, and seventeen were within the bull's eye—a diameter of eight inches! Twenty-four of the shots with a rest, and twenty-four without.

The proportions observed in the manufacture of gunpowder in Europe are as follows:

	CANNON POWDER.			RIFLE POWDER.		
	Saltpetre.	Charcoal.	Sulphur.	Saltpetre.	Charcoal.	Sulphur.
Austria . .	70.	17.	16.	75.50	13.20	11.30
England . .	75.	17.	8.	88.	12.75	9.
France . .	75.	12.50	12.50	75.50	13.20	11.30

There are two modes of making balls, viz: by moulding and

by pressure, the latter being the most accurate, and was invented in 1838 in England.

The want of accuracy of fire has been a reproach to infantry. During the French Revolution, three thousand cartridges were fired for every enemy killed or wounded. Decker, a Prussian general, estimates ten thousand cartridges thus employed! The English, at Vittoria, used but eight hundred balls to produce the same effect, and at Cherubusco, Mexico, the Americans but one hundred and twenty-five balls! In general, it has been computed that the weight of a man in lead must be shot at him to hit him. These calculations were, however, with the smooth bore and round ball. To quote again from Lieutenant Wilcox:

"Many causes conspire to render the fire of infantry in battle ineffective, the rapidity of fire, the excitement incident to the strife, difficulty of aiming properly in consequence of the dust or smoke, necessity of firing by command, unsteadiness resulting from the pressure of files to the right or left, or in front or rear, and in general, one of the opposing forces being protected by fortifications, field or permanent. A more general cause of want of accuracy has been, doubtless, the firing beyond the effective range of the musket. In view of the improved rifle, it may confidently be asserted that battles will be more destructive than formerly—a greater number of balls will take effect; it will be difficult for the soldier to find himself in presence of the enemy, and yet beyond the range of his rifle, at least he would scarcely commence to fire beyond the range of his present piece. He will be inspired with more confidence, knowing the range and accuracy of his arm. At great distances he will no longer fire by hazard, but will use his elevating sight; at short distances, knowing the power of his rifle, he will fire with the utmost coolness, and with a certainty that the smooth-bore and round ball never could inspire. It may be that the infantry soldier, occupied with the care of aiming or adjusting his sight, will have his mind diverted from thoughts of danger, and be in the moral condition attributed to cannoneers, whose proverbial *sang froid* in the presence of the enemy is said to be due to the occupation that the pointing or aiming of the piece gives.

"The increased range and accuracy of the rifle, and the confidence with which it must inspire the soldier, will cause the fire of infantry to be far more destructive than formerly, and every enemy killed or wounded will no longer cost his weight in lead (or ten times his weight in iron, when killed by artillery)."

The improvement in arms must have great effect upon future battles, and will be exhibited in the pending struggle between the North and the South. Both sides are well furnished, and both have great resources at command. The South is far more familiar with the use of arms, and can make an inferior weapon effective from skill in its use. Thus the common rifle of the country, in the hands of its woodsmen, will be found to equal the Maynard or the Colt in less experienced hands. The range of this rifle can, with small effort, and by the use of Minie balls, be raised to four hundred or six hundred yards, which, for most practical purposes, will be found sufficient. Says Lieut. Wilcox:

"Fields of battle will be more extended than formerly; there will be more difficulty in properly placing troops on the field and directing their movements. Keeping them together, holding them well in hand, so as mutually to protect and sustain each other, will, in future, require the greatest care. As fields of battle will cover more ground than formerly, new tactical means to obviate the disadvantages resulting from this will be required; that continuity of lines required by tactics, will no longer be necessary. The commencement of a battle will require the greatest care and circumspection on the part of the General, lest he may lose control of his men and their movements, and to prevent the fire of skirmishers from degenerating into a mere waste of ammunition. Formerly the position of the enemy could be approached to within three hundred yards without experiencing much loss from the fire of his infantry. Now, this fire is destructive at one thousand or one thousand two hundred yards, and well directed at six hundred yards, becomes irresistible. The range of the rifles permitting battles to commence at considerable distances, without great care on the part of the General, his whole line may become exposed at once to a destructive fire; the position assigned to troops, not immediately engaged, will require as much attention as those so engaged."

The influence of the improved rifle will be felt by—

1. *Cavalry*.—Formerly it could be drawn up in full view of the enemy at distances of three hundred yards, but now at least one thousand two hundred must be allowed. Thus its chances of success are greatly lessened. Its manœuvring will be more difficult, and its charges made with greatly increased loss.

2. *Artillery*.—Formerly artillery begun battles, but now that the rifle is equal, if not superior, in range to the field-piece, its influence will be decreased. It cannot operate against infantry in open field. We conclude with an extract from Wilcox:

"In the experiment at Hythe, in 1856, the effect of the fire of the Enfield rifle upon a piece of artillery with its men and horses was shown to be such, that it would be impossible for a field-battery to remain in front of infantry at a distance of eight hundred and ten yards for ten minutes; *three minutes* alone sufficed at that distance for thirty files to wound the men and horses to such an extent as to disable the piece. With the more accurate Swiss rifle at that distance the destruction would have been more rapid and complete; and at a distance of thirteen hundred and twelve yards it would have inflicted the same, or even greater, damage than the Enfield rifle at eight hundred and ten yards. It is clear that field artillery, with its present range, cannot, with any chances of success, remain in action in front of infantry; its comparative efficacy is lessened, and even by extending the range by increase of calibre, or by a successful application of the principle of rifling, cannot restore it to its former comparative condition. The infantry rifle has now a range equal, or greater, than the limit of distinct vision, and greater even than the extent offered by fields of battle in general, and should a range of several miles be given to artillery it would still fail to restore it to its former comparative state.

"In times past, artillery assisted cavalry in its attacks against infantry; now infantry may render cavalry great service by directing its fire against artillery, thus preparing the way for the cavalry charge.

"The new rifle clearly gives to infantry, in all secondary operations of war, and in the defence of positions, an element of force that it did not possess formerly. Artillery in minor operations, in attacks of posts and positions, has its offensive element much altered and lessened; *but in its*

legitimate sphere of action in removing obstacles, in the attack and defence of forts and fortresses, artillery remains intact, as well as in the grand tactics of battles."

The mode of manufacturing cartridges, bomb shells, etc., is thus shown in a recent account of Springfield armory :

"A large number of hands are engaged in the preparation of ammunition; six thousand ball cartridges are made daily; most of these are intended for the Minie rifle, but large numbers of the old fashioned round ball cartridges are also manufactured.

"The rapidity with which a cartridge is made is wonderful. A boy sits at a counter with a cylindrical stick—a pile of greased balls and one of prepared paper before him—a simple roll of paper and a stick—a jerk and a twist at one end—a twist of a string, and the cartridge is ready for filling in less time than it takes to read this description. They are then taken in another room, placed open, end up, in shallow boxes, and a man, by means of a simple instrument, fills them with an equal and specific amount of powder, at the rate of thirty a minute. A twist at the open end, and the cartridge is complete. The manufacture goes on so fast, that it requires nearly a dozen men and boys to pack, box and remove the finished cartridges. In another apartment, a number of men and girls are employed in the manufacture of cannon cartridges of all sizes, from the mightiest columbiad down to the six-pounder. The material of which they are made is a kind of woollen goods (moreen) imported from England especially for the purpose. Thousands of yards of this material were in the process of being cut up and manufactured. Cannon cartridges are not filled here, but at the place where they are intended to be used. In still another department, grape, canister and strapped ammunition are in course of preparation, while huge cart loads of bomb shells and spherical shot are hourly arriving from the neighboring foundries. The grape shot are larger than I supposed, and might more properly be called peach shot than grape shot. Some six or more of these are packed in a sort of wire cork-screw arrangement, and fitted into a tin case, and when thus finished have much the appearance of jars of preserved meats or fruits.

"The manufacture of bomb shells is also a matter of much interest. The preparation of those I witnessed was briefly as follows: The shell is first filled up with old-fashioned, round leaden bullets; melted sulphur is then poured in to fill up the interstices and bind the bullets in one solid mass; the shell is then put into a kind of a lathe, and a cylindrical hole of the exact size of the orifice of the shell is bored through the bullets and the sulphur; this cavity is filled with powder, even with the interior edge of the orifice, a six-inch shell of the kind here described holding about half a pound. The fuse fitted into the orifice is a recent Belgian invention, made of pewter, and resembles the screw-cap used for the patent fruit cans. An examination of this pewter cap shows, however, that it is made of two hollow dies of metal screwed together, and filled with meal powder; a number of fine holes are drilled in the lower disc, while the outer disc is entire, and marked with figures in a circle, 1, 2, 3, 4. In this state the shell is water and weather proof. When taken for use, the gunner, by means of a small steel instrument, scoops out a portion of the outer soft metal surface, and lays bare the charge of composition powder below it. If the shell is desired to explode in one second after leaving the gun, the scooping is made on the figure one; if in two seconds, on the figure two, and so on; the idea being that the shells of this description shall first strike the object aimed at and do execution as a ball, and then explode, sending the bullets forward as if from another cannon located at the point where the flight of the shell is

arrested. Large shell of eight or ten inches are filled with powder only, and, bursting, do execution by means of their fragments. These large shells are generally fired by means of a fuse of meal powder, extending through a brass plug, screwed into the mouth of the shell; in both cases, the fuse is fired by the ignition of the charge in the gun."

ART. X.—THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY.

TARIFF OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES.

In our last we presented a paper upon the general subject of Tariffs, and more particularly upon the principles and policy of an export duty upon Cotton.

As a matter with which our readers throughout the South should at once be made familiar, we introduce the recent Tariff enacted at Montgomery, which, in its details, comes nearer to free trade, though not near enough, than any Tariff adopted in America since the old revolution.

SECTION 1. *The Congress of the Confederate States of America do enact, That from and after the 31st day of August next, a duty shall be imposed on all goods, products, wares and merchandize imported from abroad into the Confederate States of America, as follows:*

On all articles enumerated in Schedule A, an ad valorem duty of twenty-five per centum. On all articles enumerated in Schedule B, an ad valorem duty of twenty per centum. On all articles enumerated in Schedule C, an ad valorem duty of fifteen per centum. On all articles enumerated in Schedule D, an ad valorem duty of ten per centum. On all articles enumerated in Schedule E, an ad valorem duty of five per centum. And that all articles enumerated in Schedule F, a Specific Duty as therein named. And that all articles enumerated in Schedule G, shall be exempt from duty, to wit:

SCHEDULE A.

TWENTY-FIVE per centum ad valorem.

Alabaster and spar ornaments; anchovies, sardines, and all other fish preserved in oil.

Brandy and other spirits distilled from grain or other materials, not otherwise provided for; billiard and bagatelle tables, and all other tables or boards on which games are played.

Composition tops for tables, or other articles of furniture; confectionary, comfits, sweetmeats, or fruits preserved in sugar, molasses, brandy, or other liquors; cordials, absynthe, arrack, curacoa, kirschenwasser, liquors, maraschino, ratafia, and all other spirituous beverages of a similar character.

Glass, cut.

Manufactures of cedarwood, granadilla, ebony, mahogany, rosewood and satinwood.

Scagliola tops for tables or other articles of furniture; segars, snuff, paper-segars, and all other manufactures of tobacco.

Wines—Burgundy, champagne, clarets, madeira, port, sherry, and all other wines or imitations of wines.

SCHEDULE B.

TWENTY per centum ad valorem.

Almonds, raisins, currants, dates, figs, and all other dried or preserved fruits, not otherwise provided for; argentine, alabata, or German silver,

manufactured or unmanufactured; articles embroidered with gold, silver, or other metal, not otherwise provided for.

Balsams, cosmetics, essences, extracts, pastes, perfumes, and tinctures, used for the toilet or for medicinal purposes; bay rum, beads of amber, composition or wax, and all other beads; benzoates; bracelets, braids, chains, curls, or ringlets, composed of hair, or of which hair is a component part, not otherwise provided for; brooms and brushes of all kinds.

Camphor, refined; canes and sticks, for walking, finished or unfinished; capers, pickles and sauces of all kinds, not otherwise provided for; card cases, pocket books, shell boxes, souvenirs, and all similar articles, of whatever material composed, not otherwise provided for; compositions of glass, set or unset; coral, cut or manufactured.

Feathers and flowers, artificial or ornamental, and parts thereof, of whatever material composed; fans and fire screens of every description, of whatever material composed.

Grapes, plums, and prunes, and other such fruit, when put up in bottles, cases or cans, not otherwise provided for.

Hair, human, cleansed or prepared for use.

Manufactures of gold, platina, or silver, not otherwise provided for; manufactures of papier maché; molasses.

Paintings on glass; pepper, pimento, cloves, nutmegs, cinnamon, and all other spices; perfumes and perfumery, of all sorts, not otherwise provided for; plated and gilt ware, of all kinds, not otherwise provided for; playing cards; prepared vegetables, fruits, meats, poultry and game, sealed or enclosed in cans or otherwise.

Silver-plated metals, in sheets or other form; soap, Castile, perfumed, Windsor, and other toilet soaps; sugar of all kinds; syrup of sugar.

Epaulettes, galloons, laces, knots, stars, tassels, tresses and wings of gold or silver, or imitations thereof.

SCHEDULE C.

FIFTEEN *per centum ad valorem.*

Alum; arrow-root; articles of clothing or apparel, including hats, caps, gloves, shoes and boots of all kinds, worn by men, women or children, of whatever material composed, not otherwise provided for.

Baizes, blankets, bockings, flannels and floor-cloths, of whatever material composed, not otherwise provided for; baskets, and all other articles composed of grass, osier, palm leaf, straw, whalebone or willow, not otherwise provided for; beer, ale and porter, in casks or bottles; beeswax; berries and vegetables of all sorts used for food, not otherwise provided for; blue or Roman vitriol, or sulphate of copper; Bologna sausages; braces, suspenders, webbing, or other fabrics, composed wholly or in part of India rubber, not otherwise provided for; breccia; Burgundy pitch; buttons and button moulds of all kinds.

Cables and cordage, of whatever material made; cadmium; calamine; calomel, and all other mercurial preparations; carbonate of soda; castor beans; castor oil; candles and tapers of spermaceti, stearine, paraffine, tallow or wax, and all other candles; caps, hats, muffs and tippets, and all other manufactures of fur, or of which fur shall be a component part; caps, gloves, leggins, mits, socks, stockings, wove shirts and drawers, and all similar articles worn by men, women and children, and not otherwise provided for; carpets, carpeting, hearth-rugs, bed-sides, and other portions of carpeting, being either Aubusson, Brussels, ingrain, Saxony, Turkey, Venetian, Wilton, or any other similar fabric, not otherwise provided for; carriages and parts of carriages; castorum; chains, of all sorts; cider, and other

beverages not containing alcohol, and not otherwise provided for; chocolate; chromate of lead; chromate, bi-chromate, hydriodate and prussiate of potash; clocks and parts of clocks; coach and harness furniture of all kinds; cobalt; combs of all kinds; copper bottoms; copper rods, bolts, nails and spikes; copper in sheets or plates, called braziers' copper, and other sheets of copper, not otherwise provided for; copperas, or green vitriol, or sulphate of iron; corks; cotton cords, gimps and galloons; cotton laces, cotton insertings, cotton trimming laces, cotton laces and braids; court plaster; coral unmanufactured; crayons of all kinds; eubebs; cutlery of all kinds.

Delaines; dolls and toys of all kinds; dried pulp; drugs, medicinal.

Earthen, China and stone ware, and all other wares composed of earthy and mineral substances, not otherwise provided for; encaustic tiles; ether.

Felspar; fig blue; fire-crackers, sky-rockets, Roman candles, and all similar articles used in pyrotechnics; fish, whether fresh, smoked, salted, dried or pickled, not otherwise provided for; fruits, preserved in their own juice, or pie fruits; fish glue, or isinglass; fish skins; flats, braids, plaits, sparterre and willow squares, used for making hats or bonnets; floss silks, feather beds, feathers for beds, and downs of all kinds; frames and sticks for umbrellas, parasols and sunshades, finished or unfinished; Frankford black; fulminates, or fulminating powders; furniture, cabinet and household, not otherwise provided for; furs, dressed on the skin.

Ginger, dried, green, ripe, ground, preserved or pickled; glass, colored, stained or painted; glass, window; glass crystals for watches; glasses or pebbles for spectacles; glass tumblers, plain, moulded and pressed; bottles, flasks, and all other vessels of glass not cut, and all glass not otherwise provided for; glue; grass cloth; green turtle; gum benzoin, or benjamin; guns, except muskets and rifles, firearms, and all parts thereof not intended for military purposes; gunny cloth and India baggings and India mattings of all sorts, not otherwise provided for.

Hair, curled, moss, seaweed, and all other vegetable substances, used for beds or mattresses; hair pencils; hat bodies of cotton or wool; hats and bonnets, for men, women and children, composed of straw, satin straw, chip, grass, palm leaf, willow, or any other vegetable substance, or of hair, whalebone, or other materials not otherwise provided for; hatter's plush, of whatever material composed; honey.

Ink and ink powder; ipecacuanha; iridium; iris, or orris root; iron castings; iron liquor; iron in bars, bolts, rods, slabs, and railroad rails, spikes, fishing plates and chairs used in constructing railroads; ivory black.

Jalap; japanned ware of all kinds, not otherwise provided for; jet, and manufactures of jet, or imitations thereof; jewelry or imitations thereof; juniper berries.

Laces of cotton, of thread or other materials, not otherwise provided for; lampblack; lastings, cut in strips, or patterns of the size or shape for shoes, boots, bootees, slippers, gaiters or buttons, of whatever material composed; lead pencils; leaden pipes; leather, japanned; leeches; linens, of all kinds; liquorice, paste, juice or root; litharge.

Maccaroni, vermicelli, gelatine, jellies, and all other similar preparations, not otherwise provided for; machinery of every description, not otherwise provided for; malt; magnesia; manganese; manna; manufactures of the bark of the cork tree; manufactures of silk; manufactures of wool of all kinds, or worsted, not otherwise provided for; manufactures of hair of all kinds, not otherwise provided for; manufactures of cotton of all kinds, not otherwise provided for; manufactures of flax of all kinds, not otherwise provided for; manufactures of hemp of all kinds, not otherwise provided for; manufactures of bone, shell, horn, pearl, ivory, or vegetable ivory, not otherwise provided

for; manufactures, articles, vessels and wares, not otherwise provided for, of brass, copper, iron, steel, lead, pewter, tin, or of which either of these metals shall be a component part; manufactures, articles, vessels, and wares, of glass, or of which glass shall be a component material, not otherwise provided for; manufactures and articles of leather, or of which leather shall be a component part, not otherwise provided for; manufactures and articles of marble, marble paving tiles, and all other marble more advanced in manufacture than in slabs or blocks in the rough, not otherwise provided for; manufactures of paper, or of which paper is a component material, not otherwise provided for; manufactures of wood, or of which wood is a component part, not otherwise provided for; matting, china or other floor matting, and mats made of flags, jute, or grass; medicinal preparations, drugs, roots, and leaves in a crude state, not otherwise provided for; morphine; metallic pens; mineral waters; musical instruments of all kinds, and strings for musical instruments, of whipgut, catgut, and all other strings of the same material; mustard, in bulk or in bottles; mustard seed.

Needles of all kinds, for sewing, darning and knitting; nitrate of lead.

Ochres and ochrey earths; oilcloths of every description, of whatever material composed; oils of every description, animal, vegetable and mineral, not otherwise provided for; olives; opium; orange and lemon peel; osier or willow, prepared for basket-makers' use.

Paints, dry or ground in oil, not otherwise provided for; paper, antiquarian, demy, drawing, elephant, foolscap, imperial, letter, and for printing newspapers, hand-bills, and other printing, and all other paper, not otherwise provided for; paper boxes, and all other fancy boxes; paper envelopes; paper hangings; paper for walls, and paper for screens or fireboards; parchment; parasols and sun-shades and umbrellas; patent mordant; paving and roofing tiles and bricks, and roofing slates, and fire-bricks; periodicals and other works, in course of printing and republication in the Confederate States; pitch; plaster of Paris, calcined; plumbago; potassium; putty.

Quicksilver; quills; quassia, manufactured or unmanufactured.

Red chalk pencils; rhubarb; roman cement.

Saddlery of all kinds, not otherwise provided for; saffron and saffron cake; sago; salts, epsom, glauber, rochelle, and all other salts and preparations of salts, not otherwise provided for; sarsaparilla; screws of all kinds; sealing wax; seines; seppia; sewing silk, in the gum and purified; shaddocks; skins of all kinds, tanned, dressed, or japanned; slate pencils; smaltz; soap of every description not otherwise provided for; spirits of turpentine; spunk; squills; starch; stereotype plates; still bottoms; sulphate of barytes, crude or refined; sulphate of quinine, and quinine in all its various preparations.

Tapioca; tar; textile fabrics of every description, not otherwise provided for; twine and pack thread, of whatever material composed; thread lacings and insertings; types, old or new, and type metals.

Umbrellas.

Vandyke brown; vanilla beans; varnish of all kinds, vellum; venetian red; velvet in the piece, composed wholly of cotton, or of cotton and silk, but of which cotton is the component material of chief value; verdigris; vermilion; vinegar.

Wafers; water colors; whalebone; white and red lead; white vitriol, or sulphate of zinc; whiting, or Paris white; window glass, broad, crown or cylinder; woollen and worsted yarns and woollen listings; shot of lead, not otherwise provided for; wheelbarrows and hand-barrows; wagons and vehicles of every description, or parts thereof.

SCHEDULE D.

TEN per centum ad valorem.

Acids of every description not otherwise provided for; alcornoque; aloes; ambergris; amber; ammonia, and sal ammonia; anatto, roucon or orleans; angora, thibet, and other goats' hair, or mohair, unmanufactured, not otherwise provided for; anniseed; antimony, crude or regulus of; argol, or crude tartar; arsenic; ashes, pot, pearl and soda; asphaltum; assafetida.

Bananas, cocoa nuts, pine apples, plantains, oranges and all other West India fruits in their natural state; barilla; bark of all kinds, not otherwise provided for; bark, Peruvian; bark, guilla; bismuth; bitter apples; bleaching powder of chloride of lime; bones, burnt; boards, planks, staves, shingles, laths, scantling, and all other sawed lumber; also spars and hewn timber, of all sorts, not otherwise provided for; bone black, or animal carbon, and bone dust; bolting cloths; books, printed, magazines, pamphlets, periodicals, and illustrated newspapers, bound or unbound, not otherwise provided for; books, blank, bound or unbound; borate of lime; borax, crude or tincal; borax, refined; bouchu leaves; box-wood, unmanufactured; Brazil paste, Brazil wood, braziletto, and all dye-woods in sticks; bristles; bronze and Dutch metal in leaf; bronze liquor and bronze powder; building stones; butter; burr stones, wrought or unwrought.

Cabinets of coins, medals, gems, and all collections of antiquities; camphor; crude; cantharides; cassia and cassia buds; chalk; cheese; chicory root, chronometers, box or ship, and parts thereof; clay, burnt or unburnt bricks, paving and roofing tiles, gas retorts, and roofing slates; coal, coke, and culm of coal; cochineal; cocoa nuts, cocoa and cocoa shells; coculus indicus; coir yarn; codilla, or tow of hemp or flax; cowhage down; cream of tartar; cudbear.

Diamonds, cameos, mosaics, gems, pearls, rubies and other precious stones, and imitations thereof, when set in gold or silver, or other metal; diamonds, glaziers', set or not set; dragons' blood.

Engravings, bound or unbound; extract of indigo, extracts and decoctions of log-wood and other dye-woods, not otherwise provided for; extract of madder; ergot.

Flax, unmanufactured; flaxseed and linseed; flints and flint ground; flocks, waste or shoddy; French chalk; furs, hatters', dressed or undressed, not on the skin; furs, undressed, when on the skin.

Glass, when old and fit only to be remanufactured; gamboge; gold and silver leaf; gold beaters' skin; grindstones; gums—Arabic, Barbary, copal, East Indies, Senegal, substitute, tragacanth, and all other gums and resins, in a crude state, not otherwise provided for.

Hair, of all kinds, uncleaned and unmanufactured; hemp, unmanufactured; hemp seed and rape seed; hops, horns, horn-tips, bone, bone-tips, and teeth, unmanufactured.

Ivory, unmanufactured; ivory nuts, or vegetable ivory.

Jute, sisal grass, coir, and other vegetable substances, unmanufactured, not otherwise provided for.

Kelp; kermes.

Lac spirits, lac sulphur, and lac dye; leather, tanned, bend, sole, and upper of all kinds, not otherwise provided for; lemons and limes, and lemon and lime juice, and juices of all other fruits without sugar; lime.

Madder, ground or prepared; madder root; marble, in the rough, slab or block, unmanufactured; metals, unmanufactured, not otherwise provided for; mineral kermes; mineral and bituminous substances in a crude state, not otherwise provided for; moss, iceland; music, printed with lines, bound or unbound.

Natron; nickel; nuts, not otherwise provided for; nut galls; nux vomica.

Oakum; oranges, lemons, and limes; orpiment.

Palm leaf, unmanufactured; pearl, mother of; pine apples; plantains; platina, unmanufactured; polishing stones; potatoes; Prussian blue; pumice and pumice stone.

Ratans and reeds, unmanufactured; red chalk; rotten stone.

Safflower; sal soda, and all carbonates and sulphates of soda, by whatever names designated, not otherwise provided for; seedlac; shellac; silk, raw, not more advanced in manufacture than singles, tram and thrown, or organzine; sponges; steel in bars, sheets and plates, not further advanced in manufacture than by rolling, and cast steel in bars; sumac; sulphur, flour of.

Tallow, marrow, and all other grease or soap stocks and soap stuffs, not otherwise provided for; tea,terne tin, in plates or sheets; teazle, terra japonica, catechu, tin in plates or sheets and tin foil; tortoise and other shells, unmanufactured; trees, shrubs, bulbs, plants and roots, not otherwise provided for; turmeric.

Watches and parts of watches; woad or pastel; woods; viz: cedar, box, ebony, lignumvitæ, granadilla, mahogany, rose-wood, satin-wood, and all other woods, unmanufactured.

Iron ore, and iron in blooms, loops and pigs.

Maps and charts.

Paintings and statuary not otherwise provided for.

Wool, unmanufactured, of every description, and hair of the Alpaca goat and other like animals.

Specimens of natural history, mineralogy or botany, not otherwise provided for.

Yams.

Leaf and unmanufactured tobacco.

SCHEDULE E.

FIVE per centum ad valorem.

Articles used in dyeing and tanning, not otherwise provided for.

Brass, in bars or pigs, old and fit only to be remanufactured; bells, old; bell metal.

Copper in pigs or bars; copper ore; copper, when old and fit only to be remanufactured; cutch.

Diamonds, cameos, mosaics, pearls, gems, rubies, and other precious stones, and imitations thereof, when not set.

Emery in lump or pulverized.

Felt, adhesive for sheathing vessels; fuller's earth.

Gums of all sorts, not otherwise provided for; gutta percha, unmanufactured.

Indigo; india rubber, in bottles, slabs or sheets, unmanufactured; india rubber, milk of.

Junk, old.

Plaster of Paris or sulphate of lime, ground or unground; raw hides and skins of all kinds, undressed.

Sheathing copper, but no copper to be considered as such except in sheets forty-eight inches long and fourteen inches wide, and weighing from eleven to thirty-four ounces; sheathing or yellow metal not wholly or part of iron; sheathing or yellow metal nails, expressly for sheathing vessels; sheathing paper, stave bolts and shingle bolts.

Tin ore and tin in pigs or bars; type, old and fit only to be remanufactured.

Wold.

Zinc, spelter, or tentenegue, unmanufactured.

SCHEDULE F.

Specific Duties.

Ice—one dollar and fifty cents per ton.

Salt, ground, blown, or rock—two cents per bushel, of fifty-six pounds per bushel.

SCHEDULE G.

Exempt from Duty.

Books, maps, charts, mathematical and nautical instruments, philosophical apparatus, and all other articles whatever, imported for the use of the Confederate States; books, pamphlets, periodicals and tracts, published by religious associations.

All philosophical apparatus, instruments, books, maps and charts, statues, statuary, busts and casts, of marble, bronze, alabaster or plaster of Paris, paintings and drawings, etchings, specimens of sculpture, cabinet of coins, medals, gems, and all collections of antiquities. *Provided* the same be specially imported in good faith for the use of any society, incorporated or established for philosophical and literary purposes, or for the encouragement of the fine arts, or for the use or by the order of any church, college, academy, school, or seminary of learning in the Confederate States.

Bullion, gold and silver.

Coins, gold, silver and copper; coffee; cotton; copper, when imported for the mint of the Confederate States.

Garden seeds, and all other seeds for agricultural and horticultural purposes; goods, wares and merchandize, the growth, produce or manufacture of the Confederate States, exported to a foreign country, and brought back to the Confederate States in the same condition as when exported, upon which no drawback has been allowed. *Provided* that all regulations to ascertain the identity thereof, prescribed by existing laws, or which may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, shall be complied with; guano, manures and fertilizers of all sorts.

Household effects, old and in use, of persons or families from foreign countries, if used abroad by them, and not intended for any other purpose or purposes, or for sale.

Models or inventions, or other improvements in the arts. *Provided* that no article or articles shall be deemed a model which can be fitted for use.

Paving stones; personal and household effects, not merchandize, of citizens of the Confederate States dying abroad.

Specimens of natural history, mineralogy or botany. *Provided* the same be imported in good faith for the use of any society incorporated or established for philosophical, agricultural or horticultural purposes, or for the use or by the order of any college, academy, school, or seminary of learning in the Confederate States.

Wearing apparel, and other personal effects not merchandize; professional books, implements, instruments and tools of trades, occupation or employment, of persons arriving in the Confederate States. *Provided* that this exemption shall not be construed to include machinery, or other articles imported for use in any manufacturing establishment, or for sale.

Bacon, pork, hams, lard, beef, wheat, flour and bran of wheat, flour and bran of all other grains, Indian corn and meal, barley, rye, oats and oat-

meal, and living animals of all kinds, not otherwise provided for; also, all agricultural productions, including those of the orchard and garden, in their natural state, not otherwise provided for.

Gunpowder, and all the materials of which it is made.

Lead, in pigs or bars, in shot or balls, for cannon, muskets, rifles, or pistols.

Rags, of whatever material composed.

Arms, of every description, for military purposes and parts thereof, munitions of war, military accoutrements and percussion caps.

Ships, steamers, barges, dredging vessels, machinery, screw pile jetties, and articles to be used in the construction of harbors, and for dredging and improving the same.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That there shall be levied, collected and paid, on each and every non-enumerated article which bears a similitude, either in material, quality, texture, or the uses to which it may be applied, to any enumerated article chargeable with duty, the same rate of duty which is levied and charged on the enumerated article by the foregoing schedules, which it most resembles in any of the particulars before mentioned; and if any non-enumerated article equally resembles two or more enumerated articles on which different rates of duty are chargeable, there shall be levied, collected and paid, on such non-enumerated article, the same rate of duty as is chargeable on the article which it resembles, paying the highest duty. *Provided*, That on all articles manufactured from two or more materials, the duty shall be assessed at the highest rates at which any of its component parts may be chargeable. *Provided further*, That on all articles which are not enumerated in the foregoing schedules, and cannot be classified under this section, a duty of ten per cent. ad valorem shall be charged.

SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That all goods, wares and merchandize, which may be in the public stores as unclaimed, or in warehouse under warehousing bonds, on the 31st day of August next, shall be subject, on entry thereof for consumption, to such duty as if the same had been imported, respectively after that day.

SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That on the entry of any goods, wares or merchandize, imported on or after the 31st day of August aforesaid, the decision of the collector of customs at the port of importation and entry, as to their liability to duty or exemption therefrom, shall be final and conclusive against the owner, importer, consignee, or agent of any such goods, wares and merchandize, unless the owner, importer, consignee or agent shall, within ten days after such entry, give notice to the collector, in writing, of his dissatisfaction with such decision, setting forth therein distinctly and specifically his ground of objection thereto, and shall, within thirty days after the date of such decision, appeal therefrom to the Secretary of the Treasury, whose decision on such appeal shall be final and conclusive; and the said goods, wares and merchandize shall be liable to duty or exemption therefrom accordingly, any Act of Congress to the contrary notwithstanding, unless suit shall be brought within thirty days after such decision, for any duties that may have been paid, or may thereafter be paid on said goods, or within thirty days after the duties shall have been paid in cases where such goods shall be in bond.

SEC. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That it shall be lawful for the owner, consignee, or agent of imports which have been actually purchased or procured otherwise than by purchase, on entry of the same, to make such addition in the entry to the cost or value given in the invoice as, in his opinion, may raise the same to the true market value of such imports in the principal markets of the country whence the importations shall have been made,

and to add thereto all costs and charges which, under existing laws, would form part of the true value at the port where the same may be entered, upon which the duty should be assessed. And it shall be the duty of the collector, within whose district the same may be imported or entered, to cause the dutiable value of such imports to be appraised, estimated and ascertained, in accordance with the provisions of existing laws; and if the appraised value thereof shall exceed by ten per centum, or more, the value so declared on entry, then in addition to the duties imposed by law on the same there shall be levied, collected and paid a duty of twenty per centum ad valorem, on such appraised value. *Provided, nevertheless, That under no circumstances shall the duty be assessed upon an amount less than the invoice or entered value, any law of Congress to the contrary notwithstanding.*

SEC. 6. *And be it further enacted,* That so much of all Acts or parts of Acts as may be inconsistent with the provisions of this Act shall be, and the same are hereby repealed.

Approved May 21, 1861.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE.

1.—VALUE OF FOREIGN IMPORTS AND EXPORTS OF BALTIMORE FOR THE LAST FOURTEEN YEARS.

<i>Imports.</i>		<i>Exports.</i>		<i>Imports.</i>		<i>Exports.</i>	
1847 . .	\$4,146,743	\$9,826,479		1854 . .	\$7,750,387	\$11,306,012	
1848 . .	5,245,894	7,209,609		1855 . .	7,772,591	11,675,996	
1849 . .	5,291,566	8,660,982		1856 . .	10,140,838	13,362,252	
1850 . .	6,417,113	8,530,971		1857 . .	11,054,676	11,398,940	
1851 . .	7,243,963	6,466,160		1858 . .	7,954,422	10,235,890	
1852 . .	5,978,021	7,549,768		1859 . .	10,408,993	8,724,261	
1853 . .	6,331,671	9,086,910		1860 . .	10,271,818	10,968,599	

2.—THE COMMERCIAL REVULSION.

At last the crash in commerce consequent on the derangement in politics has come upon us. Hopeful merchants have tried to look cheerfully at the threatening clouds that have overhung our trade since November last, and traders generally have battled bravely against the overpowering march of events, refusing to believe that the political crisis could result so seriously as it has. At last, however, the worst fears are realized. We are launched on the sea of civil war; and trade is sternly summoned to contract its operations within the narrowest possible limits. This process is always a dangerous one when carried out to an extreme extent; and especially so if, as at present, the contraction is not only extreme but sudden. It is no matter of wonder that the trade of this city should now begin to show the effects of the blow that has been struck by the Southern rebellion. New York has in the Southern States debts that are to be counted by tens of millions; and, although large amounts of this indebtedness are daily falling due, yet scarcely a dollar comes to hand in liquidation. In the States actually seceded repudiation has, to a large extent, been adopted, and, where debtors are too honorable to directly repudiate, they yet refuse to remit until the close of the war. In the West, too, the state of affairs is practically but little better than in the South. The banks of the Western States have foolishly based their circulation very largely on border State stocks, which now have fallen

to about one-half their usual value, carrying down with them the value of the notes they represent. The result of this ruinous depreciation is, that the rates of exchange, as between the Western cities and New York, have risen so high as to preclude all possibility of making remittances hither. We have actually, therefore, fifteen slave States and six free, possessing a total population of nearly twenty millions, whose remittances to the commercial emporium of the Union have suddenly and almost entirely ceased. There is no reason for surprise, then, that there should now be searching times among the merchants of New York, and that suspensions and failures should be the order of the day. During the last two weeks about thirty stoppages have occurred in the wholesale trade of this city, a large number of which are of firms in the dry goods trade. It is, however, gratifying to note that a very light proportion of these are cases of insolvency, fully three-fourths being merely extensions of firms who are quite likely, ultimately, to discharge their obligations in full. The embarrassments of those whose business has been chiefly Southern are most serious, inasmuch as they are likely to suffer heavier losses, and may have to wait very long before receiving any remittances at all from the South, whilst the prospect of their renewing a trade with that section is very uncertain. The only prospect before our Southern jobbers, therefore, is that of a slow and tedious liquidation, at the end of which they will find all, or more than all, their capital wasted. The suspensions of firms in the Western trade may safely be looked upon with much less apprehension. The wealth of that section has accumulated many millions since September last; and there is still in its grain stores an immense amount of material wealth, which is ready to move eastward with the opening of the canals. The West, therefore, has no lack of ability to discharge its indebtedness to New York. So soon as the large reserves of grain are forwarded here exchange may be expected to turn more in favor of the West, and we shall witness an immediate improvement in Western collections, and possibly even a slight revival of the demand for goods from that section.

New York Economist.

3.—LOUISIANA AND ALABAMA STATE FINANCE—FINANCES AND PROGRESS.

The whole debt of Louisiana on the first day of January last was composed of the following items:

Bonds for Citizens' Bank	\$4,297,333 33	
Bonds for Consolidated Association.....	1,101,200 00	
		\$5,398,533 33
Railroad subscriptions:		
Jackson Railroad.....	\$884,000	
Opelousas Railroad.....	641,000	
Vicksburg and Shreveport	250,000	
Grosse Tete	70,000	
		1,855,000 00
The Railroad Debts:		
Old Nashville Bonds	\$483,000	
Mexican Gulf Railroad.....	100,000	
Port Hudson and Clinton	9,000	
		592,000 00
Old Second Municipality	\$198,240	
Charity Hospital.....	125,000	
		323,240 00
Juvenile School Fund.....	\$529,000	
Seminary Fund.....	136,000	
		665,000 00
For relief of Treasury.....		750,000 00
Whole Bond Debt.....		\$9,583,773 33
There are Trust Funds, for which the State is liable, payable on demand, amounting to		575,300 99
Making the whole State debt about		\$10,159,074 32

The total receipts into the Treasury of Louisiana last year, including receipts on account of trust funds, were \$2,378,793 44; the expenditures, \$2,224,702 10.

The taxable property of Louisiana has increased within ten years from \$265,000,000, at which it was assessed in 1850 and 1851, to \$420,000,000, at which it was assessed in 1860—an increase of \$150,000,000. The rate has averaged about \$15,000,000 per annum, but it has been quite irregular; 1853 was assessed at nearly \$30,000,000 over 1852, and 1856 \$37,000,000 over 1855, while the estimated excess of 1860 over 1859 is only \$4,000,000. The increase has, however, been constant, if not uniform.

ALABAMA.

The bond debt of our State is \$3,445—annual interest \$185,820. The domestic debt is \$2,582,178, most of which draws interest, being the sixteenth section and University fund, etc. The Legislature has just authorized the issue of \$2,000,000 in bonds, the issue of \$1,000,000 in Treasury notes, and has loaned the Southern Congress \$500,000. The balance in the Treasury on the 1st of January last was \$298,668; net revenue during the present year estimated at \$847,000—total of means, \$1,172,669. Past appropriations due, \$600,650; due educational fund, \$285,000; State expenses, \$200,000—total, \$1,058,650. Total balance estimated to be in the Treasury at the close of the present year, \$266,274. The expenses of the present military preparations of the State are not taken into the above estimates. They are expected to be met out of the new issue of the State bonds and the issue of Treasury notes. There was no increase of taxes by the last Legislature, although the expenditures were largely increased.

4.—NORTH CAROLINA AND ARKANSAS STATE FINANCES AND RESOURCES.

The assessed value of real estate in North Carolina in 1815 was \$53,521,513; in 1836 this value had actually decreased, and in 1850, thirty-five years later, it had only increased to \$55,600,000; but in 1860 it reaches \$126,000,000, or \$70,400,000 more than 1850. This result, the Governor believes, comes solely from the internal improvements, which only fairly commenced in 1850.

The public debt of the State is \$9,129,505. To this is to be added \$4,699,900, for which the public faith is pledged to certain railroads. Of this latter sum, about \$1,500,000 will be required within two years. The expenditures of the two next years are estimated at \$728,424 76, to meet which the estimate of receipts is \$1,726,425 06. It is therefore evident, not only that there need be no increase of taxes, but that they may be reduced.

To meet the principal of her liabilities, the State has, in stocks and bonds of various railroads, canals and sinking fund, \$7,663,140. The sinking fund, from which the public debt is to be paid, and which is made up of dividends of stock owned by the State, and any accruing balances, now amounts to \$457,040, and for the last two years has received \$419,570. After this year the Governor estimates that the annual addition to this fund will be not less than a million of dollars, to come from railroad dividends. He relies upon the roads being profitable, because having been built by slave labor, their cost is very much less than Northern roads.

DEBT OF ARKANSAS.

The payment on the State debt, up to October 1st, 1860, amounted to \$2,341,996 17. The amount of outstanding debt on account of the Bank of the State of Arkansas is \$1,098,717 50, and the liability of the State for

bonds sold by the Real Estate Bank, and interest due on them, was \$1,654,825 28 on the 1st of October. There is beside an additional liability for principal and interest up to the 1st day of October, 1860, \$267,455 71 on account of the \$121,336 59, borrowed by the bank on the 7th September, 1840, upon the five hundred bonds of the State, which the bank, in violation of law, hypothecated to the "North American Trust and Banking Company" of New York. This company sold the bonds and placed them beyond the control of the State.

The State, the Governor says, has made considerable progress in getting out of debt, and in a few years will be entirely so. The whole value of property taxed in the State in the year 1852 was \$42,900,000, and the increase during the subsequent eight years amounted to about \$1,000,000. There remained in the treasury on the 1st of October for ordinary expenses \$304,106 in gold and silver. An appropriation of \$130,000 out of the five per cent. accruing from the sales of public lands is recommended for the completion of the Memphis and Little Rock Railroad, and of the Mississippi, Ouachita and Red River Railroad. The attention of the Legislature is also called to the subject of public education.

5.—INFLUENCES OF WAR UPON COMMERCE.

Interdiction of Commercial Intercourse.—One of the immediate and important consequences of the declaration of war is the absolute interruption and interdiction of all commercial correspondence, intercourse and dealing between the subjects of the two countries. The idea that any commercial intercourse or pacific dealing can lawfully subsist between the people of the powers at war, except under the clear and express sanction of the Government, and without a special license, is utterly inconsistent with the new class of duties growing out of a state of war. The interdiction flows, necessarily, from the principle already stated, that a state of war puts all the members of the two nations respectively in hostility to each other; and to suffer individuals to carry on a friendly or commercial intercourse, while the two Governments were at war, would be placing the acts of Government and the acts of individuals in contradiction to each other. It would counteract the operations of war, and throw obstacles in the way of the public efforts, and lead to disorder, imbecility and treason. Trading supposes the existence of civil contracts and relations, and a reference to courts of justice; and it is, therefore, necessarily contradictory in a state of war. It affords aid to an enemy in an effectual manner, by enabling the merchants of the enemy's country to support their Government, and it facilitates the means of conveying intelligence and carrying on a traitorous correspondence with the enemy. These considerations apply with peculiar force to maritime States, where the principal object is to destroy the marine and commerce of the enemy in order to force them to peace. It is a well settled doctrine in the English courts, and with the English jurists, that there cannot exist, at the same time, a war for arms and a peace for commerce. The war puts an end at once to all dealing and all communication with each other, and places every individual of the respective Governments, as well as the Governments themselves, in a state of hostility. This is equally the doctrine of all the authoritative writers on the law of nations, and of the maritime ordinances of all the great powers of Europe. It is equally the received law of this country, and was so decided frequently by the Congress of the United States, during the Revolutionary War, and again by the Supreme Court of the United States during the course of the last war; and it is difficult to conceive of a point of doctrine more deeply or extensively rooted in the general maritime law of Europe, and in the universal and immemorial usage of the whole community of the civilized world.

It follows, as a necessary consequence of the doctrine of the illegality of all intercourse or traffic, without the express permission, that all contracts with the enemy made during war are utterly void. The insurance of enemy's property is an illegal contract, because it is a species of trade and intercourse with the enemy. The drawing of a bill of exchange by an alien enemy on the subject of the adverse country, is an illegal and void contract, because it is a communication and contract. The purchase of bills on the enemy's country, or the remission and deposit of funds there, is a dangerous and illegal act, because it may be cherishing the resources and relieving the wants of the enemy. The remission of funds, in money or bills, to subjects of the enemy, is unlawful. The inhibition reaches to every communication, direct or circuitous. All endeavors to trade with the enemy, by the intervention of third persons, or by partnerships, have equally failed, and no artifice has succeeded to legalize the trade without the express permission of the Government. Every relaxation of the rule tends to corrupt the allegiance of the subject, and prevents the war from fulfilling its end. The only exception to this strict and rigorous rule of international jurisprudence, is the case of ransom bills; and they are contracts of necessity, founded on a state of war, and engendered by its violence. It is also a further consequence of the inability of the subjects of the two States to commune or carry on any correspondence or business together, that all commercial partnerships existing between the subjects of the two parties prior to the war are dissolved by the mere force and act of the war itself; though other contracts, existing prior to the war, are not extinguished, but the remedy is only suspended, and is, from the inability of an alien enemy to sue or to sustain, in the language of the civilians, a *persona standi in judicio*. The whole of this doctrine respecting the illegality of any commercial intercourse between the inhabitants of two nations at war was extensively reviewed, and the principal authorities, ancient and modern, foreign and domestic, were accurately examined, and the positions which have been laid down and established, in the case of *Griswold vs. Waddington*, decided in the Supreme Court of this State, and afterwards affirmed on error. See Kent's Com., vol. 1.

MISCELLANY.

1.—SERPENT WORSHIP AMONG THE NEGROES.

WE have a note from Dr. Cartwright, of Louisiana, in which he informs us that the facts set out in his article in our last number on Negro Freedom, etc., being doubted by some of the members of the New Orleans Academy of Sciences, were investigated by a special committee of the members, who reported "that Dr. Cartwright is fully sustained in the statement, that serpent worship has existed in Africa and Hayti."

Some typographical errors, in his article in the June number, are pointed out by the Doctor, which we cheerfully correct, as far as they are important. Page 652, twelfth line from bottom, for "mask of those," read "most of them;" eighth line from bottom, for "weak" read "black" idol; fifteenth line from top, for "advising" read "avoiding." Page 653, twenty-first line

from top, for "elective" read "electric." Page 654, eighth line from bottom, for "indigracious" read "indigenous." (The Doctor's handwriting is hieroglyphic.)

We append a letter, with the consent of the writer, which sustains the views of Dr. Cartwright.—Ed.

DARLINGTON, MARYLAND,
May 13, 1861.

SAM'L A. CARTWRIGHT, M. D.—To your letter of a recent date, inquiring whether or not my observations have extended to the psychology of the negro, and especially as to the existence of *Feticism* among the negroes in this section of Maryland, and the forms under which it manifests itself, I embrace this, the earliest opportunity, to reply.

To the first query, I feel prepared to answer affirmatively; and to the specifications with regard to Feticism, I can only say that my observations have been general and incidental, rather than special. My ethnological studies have particularly embraced the mental and physical characteristics of the negro. The examination into the negro's mental faculties, however, that I have heretofore made, has been conducted with the view, almost solely, of ascertaining his natural capacities in different grades of civilization, and under various circumstances, and the relative development of these faculties as compared with those of the white man.

The peculiar religious tendencies of the negro have not been so strictly observed, as my attention has never been drawn immediately to the subject.

It is the generally received opinion that the negro, as a race, is naturally very devout, and eminently susceptible of the so-called religious feelings which are produced at their meetings by the strong impressions made upon their senses by excited sounds and actions. It is also well known that these sensuous impressions vanish almost as soon as the cause which produced them, but are ever ready to be renewed upon the recurrence of similar occasions.

The belief in the existence of *witches*, or sorcerers, I may say, is very general among the negroes in this vicinity. In almost every neighborhood may be found an old negro woman who is regarded by the other negroes with profound awe and fear, on account of her supposed possession of occult powers, by which she can, at will, bring pain and death upon her enemies. When they imagine that they are affected by witches, they say that they are "*bewitched*," or that "*spells*" have been put upon them, or that they have been *poisoned* by passing over or under poison that had been *laid* especially for them.

Rheumatic and neuralgic pains are very frequently attributed to the evil designs of the witches; and I have discovered, like yourself, and, I presume, the majority of the physicians in the Southern States, that it is very difficult, and sometimes impossible, to rid these patients of their delusion without treating the *imagination*. We can do no good, but, on the contrary, do harm by ridiculing their fancies. By assuring them that we are administering remedies for the purpose of driving out the evil influence, we command their confidence, and thus gain an essential point toward the cure.

I have known negroes who confidently believed, upon awakening in the morning sore and tired, that they had been *ridden* all the night by *witches*, who experience a diabolical pleasure, they suppose, in taking this advantage of their enemies in their sleep, making them caper about on all-fours while they (the witches) are astride of their backs!

A case occurred in this county, some years ago, in which a negro had applied frequently to a physician to be relieved of a morbid sensation in

the skin at a particular point on the leg. The treatment first adopted proved unavailing. It was evident to the physician that the complaint was more imaginary than real. The negro finally acknowledged his belief that he had been *bewitched* by having a small snake placed, by some means only known to witches, beneath the skin, which kept up a constant movement and rendered him extremely miserable. The physician admitted the probability of the explanation offered, and immediately proposed a surgical operation for the removal of the reptile; which, upon being agreed to by the patient, he proceeded to perform by laying open the skin for some distance and dissecting out a vermiform piece of muscle about two inches in length, which he triumphantly exhibited to his delighted patient as his late ruthless tormentor. Thus a permanent cure was effected.

I have conversed with two or three physicians in this neighborhood, since the receipt of your letter, upon the subject of the negro's belief in "spells" and "poison;" and they all expressed themselves as being fully aware of the existence of such a superstition, and of the great intractability of disease in those subjects who were under its influence, if the remedy be not addressed particularly to the delusion.

Upon that form of Feticism which has the *serpent* for its object, I am not prepared to give any information from personal observations. We have very few snakes here, and they are generally small and harmless, with the exception of the copper-head (*Trigono cephalus contortrix*) and the *spreading adder*, both of which are extremely rare.

It could scarcely be expected, however, that the negroes here, surrounded, as they are, by such a large number of the white and controlling species of man, would either have the opportunity or disposition for indulging in serpent-worship. The proper field for these studies is where he is found in his native state—especially as he exists in the wilds of Africa, uninfluenced by contact with the white man.

It is not to be denied, however, that instances have come under my notice here, where the negro has manifested a superstitious dread, and even horror, of serpents; either fleeing hastily from them or instantly killing them in desperation, for fear of being *charmed*, as they term it; for it is a common belief among the negroes that serpents have the power to *CHARM* them if they yield a moment to their influence.

The *vestiges* of Feticism found in the negro here, at the present day, are not important in themselves, but are interesting as evidences of how long, through how many generations of comparative civilization, and under what diverse and even opposing circumstances, the relics of native barbarism may exist. The pseudo-philanthropists at the North should comprehend that barbarism is the negro's *natural* state, above which he is incapable of raising himself by any efforts of his own; and that his comparatively elevated condition in this country is altogether *artificial*, and can only be maintained by continual contact with, and subjection to, the controlling *will* of the white race. When that will, support and protection is withdrawn, he inevitably relapses into his original barbarity. This subjection on the part of the negro to the will of the white race, even though he be nominally "free," as in the Northern States, is not only necessary for his successful competition with poverty and want, but is equally so for his happiness. For interesting remarks upon the negro in his native country, his *Feticism*, his abject and absolute slavery to his own race, etc., see *Hegel's Philosophy of History*, pp. 97-103.

Very respectfully and truly yours,

W. S. FORWOOD, M. D.

EDITORIAL.

The recent Bank Convention at Atlanta, though well attended, adjourned over to Richmond, in order to secure a still larger representation. The adjourned meeting is fixed for the 24th of July. Delegates, at Atlanta, represented Georgia, South Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama and Florida. Virginia responded by letter, pledging to acquiesce in any judicious measures adopted. A letter was read from Mr. Memminger, Secretary of the Treasury, in which he said it would be in the power of the banks greatly to forward the plans of the Government. The resolutions reported were unanimously adopted, and were:

Resolved, That this Convention do recommend to all the banks in the Southern Confederacy to receive in payment of all dues to them, the Treasury notes of the same on deposit, and pay them out to customers.

That until the said Treasury notes can be prepared and issued, it be recommended that all the banks do agree to advance to the Government, in current notes, such sums severally as may be agreed upon between them and the Secretary of the Treasury—the said advance to be made on the deposit with the banks of Treasury notes of large denomination, or 5 per cent. stock or bonds.

That all the banks in the Southern Confederacy are earnestly urged to take immediate action on the foregoing resolution, as a measure of the greatest importance to the Government and the people, and communicate the same, without delay, to the Secretary of the Treasury, at Richmond.

That it be recommended to all the railroad companies in the Southern Confederacy, to receive the Treasury notes in payment of fares and freights.

That the legislatures of the several States do make it lawful for their tax collectors, and other officers, to receive the Treasury notes in payment for all taxes, and all other public dues.

That all the States, cities and corporations having coupons payable in the City of New York, or elsewhere in the enemy's country, be requested, during the continuance of the war, to appoint some place of payment in the Confederate States and to give their creditors notice of the same.

It is thought that the banks are

generally adopting these wise and patriotic suggestions, and that the railroad companies have determined to adopt the same.

Will France and England, in courtesy to the North, deprive themselves of Southern staples?

The *New York News* gives the answer to this question in a recent issue:

Great Britain is the great cotton spinner and weaver of the world. Five millions of her people in the British Isles, men, women and children, upon whose daily labor many other millions are directly dependent, toil in her cotton factories, or are otherwise employed in the trade or manufacture of cotton. The following is the total number of bales of raw cotton imported into England from the United States, and from all other parts of the world, for each of the last seven years:

	From the U. S.	From other sources.	Total bales.
1854.....	1,667,902	504,691	2,172,593
1855.....	1,925,086	651,224	2,576,310
1856.....	1,758,295	705,473	2,463,768
1857.....	1,481,717	935,871	2,417,588
1858.....	1,705,340	567,436	2,272,776
1859.....	2,086,341	742,769	2,829,110
1860.....	2,580,843	785,843	3,366,686

Mr. Crawford, late Governor of Singapore, read recently a paper upon cotton, in which, after examining all possible sources of future supply, he comes to the conclusion, that even under the most favorable auspices, the main reliance must be upon the Southern States of America for present and future supplies. We quote his remarks:

As a producer of the cotton used by British manufacturers, next to America comes India. But we derive thence only fifteen per cent. of the whole value. The quality of Indian cotton has not improved, while the quantity imported has increased. The soil and climate are not less suitable than those of America, but the cultivator, instead of being an active and intelligent capitalist, who owns his land in fee simple, and works with improved implements of trade, is an untought Indian peasant, who works as his forefathers worked, with "a pair or two of ill-fed oxen, a hoe worth a shilling, a harrow worth two shillings, and a plough, worth perhaps as much as four." Instead of sowing seed

in drills, and thinning carefully on well-tilled soil, the Indian scatters his seed broadcast; and the seed he scatters is that which has been reproduced on the same land from time immemorial, while the American planter introduces fresh seed from remote places every five or six years. The well-nourished American plant rises to a height of six or eight feet. In India it attains only to one-half that height. The puny Indian machine used for cleaning the cotton hardly yields three pounds a day; an ordinary American saw gin yields three hundred pounds a day. From many illustrations here given by Mr. Crawford, of the low quality of all products of rude agriculture that require more than the cheapest and simplest manipulation, we may select rice, a native plant of India, cultivated there since the beginning of history. By the accident of an Indian's touching at Charleston, rice was introduced into Carolina about the middle of last century; and Carolina rice, raised from the Bengal seed, is now worth twice as much as Bengal rice in the London market.

Rent, too, is an essential consideration. The products* of over-peopled, highly-rented lands are enhanced in price. From China there is, for this reason, no export of rice or cotton, but tea can be grown for exportation, because it can be grown on the hill sides, and occupies land, not available for growth of the other staples, of which there is yet more to be had. So it is with everything in Java but the coffee that grows on the freer tracts of mountain land; and the true cotton producing districts of India are all under-peopled.

It happens, again, in India, not only that the quality of cotton is, because of its rude cultivation, of the lowest, but that it has to be brought to market by the worst roads and the rudest means of transport from the greatest distances. And when the cotton arrives at the coast we find that in an extensive coast line there are but three convenient ports of export; while within the more limited coast of the American cotton States there are more than thrice that number. But cannot the European grow cotton in India? At the outset he will require what he cannot yet have, the fee simple of his land with moderate and fixed taxation.

From other countries than India and the American States we get at present only seven parts in a hundred of our cotton supply. Chief among the lesser sources is Egypt, which yields a thirty-second part of our whole quantity from seed introduced forty years ago, during which time there has been no very great increase of the yield. Next to Egypt is Brazil, from which a cotton comes of an average quality 13 per cent. better than the average of all American. But Brazil has found it better worth while to beat America in the production of sugar than to compete in the production of cotton. A small quantity of very superior cotton comes from Chili and Peru, that from Peru being the finest brought into the English market. But industry in these regions is spent rather on wool, minerals and other produce.

In all the countries between Bengal and China, and in all the considerable islands of the Malabar and Philippine Archipelagos, the cotton plant has been always, next to corn, the chief object of husbandry. But there has been little for export. Java has eleven millions to clothe, and is even beginning to cease from its export of corn. China has always had to import as well as produce both corn and cotton. In our West Indian colonies only, but also in Cuba and Porto Rico. Only the Danish colony

of St. Thomas yields us a little cotton, and that of the highest quality; equal, indeed, to the Peruvian, and forty per cent. better than the average of the American. St. Domingo, as a French colony, supplied France with the chief part of her cotton; now, under a native government, it has ceased to produce not only cotton but also sugar, and grows some of the worst coffee known in European markets.

Turkey once, when our want was small, our sole source of supply, yields to us still about eleven thousand pounds worth every year, but there are not many Europeans who, for the extension of the cotton growth, would invest capital in the most disorderly part of a disordered empire. It is in Asiatic Turkey that the cotton grows.

In tropical Africa there must needs be much advantage both of soil and climate. But all other requisites are at present wanting. Will the negroes learn, in a few generations, what the comparatively civilized Hindus have not learnt in all the ages of past history? The first cotton was imported from West Africa in 1858, and the importation of 2,116 cwts. was owing to the benevolent enterprise of an English merchant, Mr. Clegg. In Eastern Africa there are none of the navigable rivers and alluvial lands of the West, but Dr. Livingstone has intimated a plateau near the river Shere, a tributary of the Zambesi, as a very fit locality for cotton planting. There are, in this region, a few rude, anarchal inhabitants; the river Shere has thirty miles of cataracts; the Zambesi, in its upper course, is navigable only by boats, and in its lower course it breeds malaria. Like other uncivilized people, the natives of tropical Africa show the power of producing any crude commodity, palm oil, that makes no exorbitant demand upon their knowledge or industry.

The French have failed in efforts to get cotton from Algeria, and there has been a scheme for procuring it from the Feejees, because those islands which, if planted over wherever growth is possible, would yield only a forty-fourth part of our supply, will, it is found, grow cotton. But the difficulty, rather, is to find a place within twenty-five degrees of the Equator that would not, with a little care, produce a sample of good cotton.

Whatever may be the result of the struggle in Missouri—and we cannot but think that it will secure the rights and independence of its gallant people—history will do justice to the noble and patriotic spirit which actuated its Governor in appealing to arms against the infamous despotism which has enthroned itself at Washington. In the language of his proclamation, God grant the people of Maryland and Kentucky shall speedily find utterance to their own wrongs. The traitors who seek to bind them hand and foot in the meshes of the enemy, will be driven from their limits, and they will be found hand and hand, and heart and heart, doing battle with their bro-

thers of the South in behalf of constitutional liberty, equality and freedom. Let them rise up as one man and God will nerve them in the hour of battle, come the invaders ever so thick. We believe that their spirits will be touched with this "noble anger" before our enemies have enjoyed many more days of their infamous invasion. Governor Jackson's proclamation is to the point. He says:

"Fellow-citizens, all our efforts toward conciliation have failed. We can hope for nothing from the justice and moderation of the agents of the Federal Government in this State. They are energetically hastening the execution of their bloody and revolutionary schemes for the inauguration of a civil war in your midst; for the military occupation of your State by armed bands of lawless invaders, for the overthrow of your State Government, and for the subversion of those liberties which that Government has always sought to protect, and they intend to exert their whole power to subjugate you, if possible, to the military despotism which have usurped the powers of the Federal Government."

President Davis is endowed by nature with many heroic qualities which fit him for the great position now assigned to him by history as the second Father of his Country. A statesman of large views, a soldier of courage, experience and boldness, a gentleman of pure, personal character and exalted patriotism, and withal, a man of generous heart and sympathies, his country will hold his name dear in all time to come. Contrast him with the usurper of the North—Hyperion to a satyr! Addressing the people of Richmond, a few days ago, the President uses language which must arouse and excite to glorious deeds. He says:

"The cause in which we are engaged is the advocacy of the rights to which we were born—those for which our fathers of the Revolution bled—the richest inheritance that ever fell to man; and it is our sacred duty to transmit them untarnished to our children. Upon us is devolved the high and holy responsibility of preserving the constitutional liberty of a free government. [Applause.] Those with whom we have lately associated, have shown themselves so incapable of appreciating the blessings of the glorious institutions they inherited, that they are to-day stripped of the liberty to which they were born. They have allowed an ignorant usurper to trample upon all the prerogatives of citizenship, and to exercise power never delegated to him; and it has been reserved for your own State, so lately one of the original thirteen, but now, thank God, fully separated from them, to become the theatre of a Great

Central Camp, from which will pour forth thousands of brave hearts to roll back the tide of this despotism."

The literary correspondent of the "Charleston Mercury" (Mr. Simms), in noticing our article upon the "Huguenots," published in the June No., takes occasion to say:

"In the paper on the 'Huguenots of the South,' Mr. Fitzhugh has given us a very interesting *resumé* of personal and general history. We think, however, that he does injustice to other tribes, sects and nations. The English were predominant in the colony. He is, however, in some degree right, if he will allow us to substitute the word Celtic for Huguenot—of which race the Huguenot was a representative. The Scotch, Irish, and Scotch-Irish constitute the more numerous representatives of the leading spirits in the South. Of one or other of these were the Moultries, the Calhouns, the Jacksons, the Rutledges, Pickenses, Shelbys, Campbells and thousand besides of the remarkable men of the Carolinas and Virginia. The Huguenots, no doubt, contributed a very fair proportion of most remarkable men here, as elsewhere in America, and we have no purpose to detract from their claims. But we must not suffer any too sweeping assertion to disparage the just proportions of any other stocks."

In our last we introduced some mention of the importance of the Southern Railroad of Mississippi extending in the direction of Montgomery, and promised to refer again to the subject. This we cannot do better than by extracting from the address made by Dr. Emanuel when presenting a service of plate to President Smedes. He says:

"Whether the absurd and wicked war policy of the old Government shall prevail, or whether wise council and true patriotism shall interpose to avert the calamities of civil war, the seat of Government of the Confederate States of America, at least for the next four years, in my opinion, will be established at Montgomery. Then, in the event of war, what a necessity would immediately arise that there should be an unbroken line of railway from Monroe in Louisiana, on the Ouachita river, seventy-five miles west of Vicksburg, to which point the V. S. and

T. Railroad is now completed, to Savannah and Charleston via Montgomery; so that troops and army supplies could be transported with the utmost certainty and celerity, through the Confederate States, exclusively, from east to west, and from west to east, as they may be required. How strong and urgent, then, is the necessity of supplying, with the least possible delay, those broken links in the line between Vicksburg, on the Mississippi, and Montgomery, on the Alabama river.

"But if, on the other hand, the South is peaceably permitted to establish its independence, and enjoy the Government of its own preference, nothing will be more conducive to the rapid development of its growth, strength and prosperity, than such a direct east and west line of railway, penetrating as this would do, through five out of six of the cotton States now constituting the new Confederacy. And here let me remark, that in my view the widespread existence of railways through the American States, will, more than all other instrumentalities, operate to prevent war. But if, unhappily, reckless madness shall wield the power, and direct the destinies of the country, and light the flames of war, the same all-powerful cause will contribute, more than every other means, to lessen its horrors and shorten its duration."

The extra session of the Southern Congress will be held on the 20th day of July next, at Richmond, Va. The Act providing for the permanent organization of the Government, requires that in all those States in which no provision has been made for the election of members of Congress under the new Constitution, an election shall be held on the first Wednesday in November next, at which time the election of electors for President and Vice President shall also be held. The electors are required to meet in their respective States on the first Wednesday in December thereafter, and proceed to cast their votes for President and Vice President.

The members who may be elected, and the Senators to be chosen by the States, shall assemble at the seat of Government of the Confederate States on the 18th day of February, 1862, and respectively to the election of Speaker of the House and President of the Senate. On the 19th day of February the President of the Senate shall open the certificates, the votes shall then be counted, and the President inaugurated on the 22d day of February, 1862.

The Cotton Planters' Convention,

which is annually in session at Macon, Georgia, determined, at its meeting last month, to hold an extra session on the fourth day in July next, and to invite the attendance of planters from all of the Confederate States. The object of this movement is to secure the largest possible subscription to the cotton loan which is proposed in aid of the Government, and which is everywhere meeting with so much favor. The resolution providing for this meeting is as follows:

"Resolved, That in view of these facts, a Convention of the planters of the whole Confederate States, be called at Macop, Ga., on the fourth day of July next, and that a Committee of three be appointed to address the cotton planters, and urge upon them the necessity of holding primary meetings in every county, and send delegates to said Convention; and to provide suitable speakers for the occasion, and that we recommend to all the Confederate States to hold similar Conventions."

In the preamble to the resolution, as offered by Col. A. S. Atkinson, the following language is introduced, which, though strong, falls short of representing the importance of the struggle in which we are engaged:

"There never was a people in better condition of defence than the Southern people, if they only make use of the means which nature and nature's God has placed within their reach. But in order to make use of these effectually, they must be made sensible of the terrible responsibilities which surround them. Each man must be made to feel as though the success of the whole Republic was suspended upon his individual action. He must not look about to see what this man ought to do, or what that man should not do, but whatever his own hands has to do, 'that do with all his might,' and let the rulers and God take care of the balance. The contest now is one which presents on the one hand liberty, independence and unbounded prospects; on the other hand ruin,

disgrace and an end to constitutional liberty on this continent. That Black Republican demagogue, who lately recorded his oath in heaven to support the Constitution of the United States, has 'commenced war, raised armies, provided navies, regulated or rather destroyed commerce, destroyed the freedom of the press, destroyed the freedom of speech, prevented the people of States under his dominion from bearing arms; and now, by armed force, deters a whole State from expressing her opinion at the ballot box—thus effectually putting an end to the elective franchise.' He is at the head of that faction, whom a distinguished statesman has represented as having 'liberty emblazoned on its banners, and deadly treason festering in its heart.' 'Engaged in an unholy crusade against the Constitution, which has so long maintained its hold on the affections of the people, in the fond hope that he may involve in one common ruin all the glorious recollections of the past, and all our proud anticipations of the future.' Such is the tyrant that boasts this day of having two hundred and fifty thousand men in arms to destroy you and your liberty forever. A crusade set on foot for the sole purpose of destroying that Constitution, in which the whole cotton culture of America has its existence."

Col. Howell Cobb was elected President for the next year, and S. H. J. Sistrunk, Secretary, to whom cotton subscriptions may be made. The regular annual meeting will take place hereafter on the second Tuesday of November.

The following works have been received since our last:

History of England, by Macauley,

edited by his sister, Lady Trevelyan, with a complete index. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The same publishers send us, of their Greek and Latin text books, a beautiful duodecimo edition.

Euripides, by Fred. A. Paley, 3 vols.

Virgil, by J. Conington.

Thucydides, by J. G. Donaldson, 2 vols.

The Wits and Beaux of Society.—This exceedingly interesting and handsomely illustrated work forms a pendant to the "Beaux of Society" by the same spirited author. It is full of interesting reminiscences of all the celebrated dandies and wits of Charles II's time—the merry monarch, who never did a wise nor said a foolish thing—including the versatile but inconstant Villiers, and the good-natured De Grammont, with pleasant and chatty sketches of Brummel, Sheridan, Sydney Smith, and other humorists of the present age. The volume is healthy, and inculcates a healthy moral lesson by exposing the weakness, folly and vice of those who rule society.

We invite attention to the advertisements of H. W. Kinsman, Sewing Machines, Soldiers' Tents, etc. Also to that of Kinsman & Bro., Candy Manufactory; Osborn & Durbee, Photographs; and Jackson, Clothing Store. Southern advertisers are rapidly filling the places so recently occupied by those of the North.

THE PORTFOLIO.—The first number of this juvenile publication has been received. The editors promise to enlarge soon and to make it well worthy of Southern patronage. It is published in Charleston, S. C.